United Nations S/PV.4787

# Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

*Provisional*

**4787**th meeting

Thursday, 17 July 2003, 10 a.m.

New York

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *President*: | Mr. Arias | (Spain) |
| *Members*: | Angola | Mr. Lucas |
| | Bulgaria | Mr. Tafrov |
| | Cameroon | Mr. Belinga-Eboutou |
| | Chile | Mr. Maquieira |
| | China | Mr. Zhang Yishan |
| | France | Mrs. D'Achon |
| | Germany | Mr. Pleuger |
| | Guinea | Mr. Boubacar Diallo |
| | Mexico | Mr. Pujalte |
| | Pakistan | Mr. Khalid |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Gatilov |
| | Syrian Arab Republic | Mr. Wehbe |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Sir Jeremy Greenstock |
| | United States of America | Mr. Negroponte |

## Agenda

The situation between Eritre and Ethiopia

Progress report of the Secretary-General on Ethiopia and Eritrea (S/2003/665)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-43069 (E)

*The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**The situation between Eritrea and Ethiopia**

**Progress report of the Secretary-General on Ethiopia and Eritrea (S/2003/665)**

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2003/665, which contains the progress report of the Secretary-General on Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council, recalling all its previous resolutions and statements of its President regarding the situation between Ethiopia and Eritrea, as well as the conclusions of the Security Council mission to Eritrea and Ethiopia in 2002, welcomes the Secretary-General's progress report of 23 June 2003 (S/2003/665).

"The Security Council reaffirms the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Ethiopia and Eritrea, and its support for the 13 April 2002 delimitation decision of the Eritrea-Ethiopia Boundary Commission.

"The Security Council welcomes the public commitment of both parties to a full and expeditious implementation of the Algiers Agreement of 12 December 2000, and reaffirms the Council's commitment to contribute to the completion of the peace process. The Council welcomes the parties' acceptance of the 13 April 2002 delimitation decision as final and binding.

"The Security Council welcomes the fact that the situation in the Temporary Security Zone has remained calm and that the parties have cooperated well with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and with the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE). The Council reiterates its serious concern about outstanding issues referred to in the Secretary-General's report, in particular some restrictions on the freedom of movement of UNMEE that remain and the continuing absence of a direct high altitude flight route for UNMEE aircraft between Asmara and Addis Ababa, resulting in additional costs to the Mission.

"The Security Council supports the Secretary-General's observation in his progress report (S/2003/665) that expeditious demarcation of the border is crucial, and expresses concern at the delays so far, particularly given UNMEE's operational cost at a time of growing demands on United Nations peacekeeping. Delays would be contrary to the wish of both parties to achieve lasting peace and stability as manifested in the Algiers Agreement.

"The Security Council urges the parties to provide their full and prompt cooperation to the Boundary Commission for the beginning of demarcation in Sector East and for the initiation of survey work in Sectors Centre and West. The Council calls upon the parties to pursue any matters that may arise in connection with the implementation of the Boundary Commission's delimitation decision within the provisions of the Algiers Agreement.

"The Security Council encourages the parties to continue their cooperation with the Military Coordination Commission in order to resolve military and security coordination issues arising from the Boundary Commission's activities. The Security Council welcomes assurances given by both parties regarding the provision of security for the Boundary Commission's staff and contractors operating in the Temporary Security Zone and adjacent areas during demarcation.

"The Security Council regrets the absence of political contacts between the parties. It believes that political dialogue between the two countries is crucial for the success of the peace process and the consolidation of progress made thus far. The Council calls on both parties to normalize their relationship through political

dialogue, including confidence-building measures such as holding alternating meetings of the Military Coordination Commission in each other's capital.

"The Council underlines the United Nations readiness to facilitate political dialogue if requested and to offer strong support in addressing the humanitarian and development challenges that would result from the demarcation of the border.

"The Security Council encourages UNMEE to continue its local outreach activities in order to provide valuable information about the peace process and mine awareness programmes to the local population. The Council welcomes UNMEE's intention to continue quick-impact projects, which provide direct assistance to communities in the border regions, and welcomes the Secretary-General's recommendation contained in paragraph 22 of his report. The Council, expressing appreciation to those Member States that have already provided contributions to the Trust Fund for the Delimitation and Demarcation of the Border and to the Trust Fund to Support the Peace Process in Ethiopia and Eritrea, calls on Member States in a position to do so to urgently provide further support to these Trust Funds.

"The Security Council is concerned about the serious shortfall of resources received in response to the consolidated appeals to address the humanitarian consequences of the drought in Ethiopia and Eritrea, and calls on Member States and the international community to contribute generously to these appeals."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2003/10.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

*The meeting rose at 10.25 a.m.*

United Nations S/PV.4788

# Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

*Provisional*

**4788**th meeting

Thursday, 17 July 2003, 10.25 a.m.

New York

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *President*: | Ms. Menéndez | (Spain) |
| *Members*: | Angola | Mr. Lucas |
| | Bulgaria | Mr. Tafrov |
| | Cameroon | Mr. Belinga-Eboutou |
| | Chile | Mr. Maquieira |
| | China | Mr. Zhang Yishan |
| | France | Mr. De La Sablière |
| | Germany | Mr. Pleuger |
| | Guinea | Mr. Boubacar Diallo |
| | Mexico | Mr. Pujalte |
| | Pakistan | Mr. Akram |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Gatilov |
| | Syrian Arab Republic | Mr. Wehbe |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Sir Jeremy Greenstock |
| | United States of America | Mr. Negroponte |

## Agenda

The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-43075 (E)

*The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question**

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Terje Roed-Larsen, Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process and Personal Representative of the Secretary-General.

It is so decided.

I invite Mr. Roed-Larsen to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Terje Roed-Larsen, Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process and Personal Representative of the Secretary-General.

I now give him the floor.

**Mr. Roed-Larsen**: Since the last briefing to the Security Council, on 13 June, the revived peace process based on the Quartet's road map has made encouraging progress. Hope is beginning to supplant despair after more than 1,000 days of violence and 3,500 deaths. Israelis and Palestinians are meeting regularly and working together at all levels. Those tentative steps are leading to more mobility for Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and Bethlehem and to more security for Israelis.

As agreed between the parties, the Israel Defence Forces (IDF) have withdrawn from parts of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Bethlehem. That has enabled the Palestinian Authority to begin to re-establish control over those areas.

A ceasefire that suspends attacks on Israelis has been reached among Palestinian groups and is largely being honoured. Regular meetings are occurring between the Palestinian and Israeli Prime Ministers, and Palestinians and Israelis meet frequently at the ministerial level to discuss such issues as security, prisoners, incitement, economic development, investment and health. Credit for this progress should go first to the leaders of Israel and the Palestinian Authority. They deserve to be commended for their courageous pursuit of the peace process. We urge them to continue meeting and to maintain the positive momentum they have developed.

The Quartet members, particularly the United States, have assisted the parties to reach that point. The United States has continued to demonstrate its commitment to this process by the recent visits to the region of Secretary of State Powell and National Security Adviser Rice, as well as by placing a full-time senior monitoring coordinator, Ambassador John Wolf, on the ground to work with the parties to fulfil their commitments. Quartet members stay in close touch with Ambassador Wolf's team. My Office, together with other United Nations agencies, is monitoring the situation on the ground, as we have for several years. We will continue to keep the Council informed of progress in implementing the road map.

The ceasefire announced on 30 June was achieved through the efforts of the Palestinian leadership and with the particular support of President Mubarak of Egypt. We urge all Palestinian groups to adhere strictly to the ceasefire. We call on the parties to stay the course in the face of possible future violations of the ceasefire. The peace process is too important to allow spoilers to dictate its pace or to set its agenda.

The Quartet — represented by Secretary-General Annan, United States Secretary of State Powell, Russian Foreign Minister Ivanov and, for the European Union, High Representative Solana, Foreign Minister Papandreou and External Affairs Commissioner Patten — met on 22 June at the Dead Sea in Jordan. This first meeting after the presentation of the road map to the parties and the Aqaba summit reaffirmed the role of the Quartet. The members took the opportunity to assess the status of the road map. They reviewed the steps that should be taken by both sides in order to move ahead, as well as the support we in the international community need to give to the renewed peace process. In the statement read out by the Secretary-General, the Quartet commended Palestinian Prime Minister Abbas and Israeli Prime Minister Sharon for their statements of commitment to peace,

and pledged support to the parties to carry out those commitments. The Quartet in turn reaffirmed its commitment to a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973) and 1397 (2002). The Quartet also stated that it looked forward to continuing to work together in close consultation with the parties.

I would also like to take this opportunity to say clearly that the commitment to a just, lasting and comprehensive peace requires that progress also be made on the Syrian and Lebanese tracks of the peace process.

The challenges to the peace process remain numerous. Since the last briefing to the Security Council 49 people have lost their lives to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, namely, 40 Palestinians and nine Israelis. That raises the total death toll since September 2000 to 2,755 Palestinians and 787 Israelis. There has been a sharp decrease in violent attacks and incitement during this reporting period. Any fatality is tragic and needless. We are therefore pleased that the progress in the peace process has saved lives and lessened violence.

A peace process is now under way. Terrorist attacks are damaging to that process. The Palestinian Authority has a specific duty to assume security responsibility, first in those areas from which the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) has withdrawn and later in all the areas under its control. Israel and the international community should take steps and provide needed assistance to enable the Palestinian Authority to fulfil its responsibilities. Israel should continue its withdrawals and refrain from any provocative acts that could make the task of Prime Minister Abbas and Minister of State for Internal Security Dahlan more difficult.

The IDF has largely ceased security activities in those areas in which the Palestinian Authority has retaken authority. This is an encouraging development. Since the Israeli withdrawal from parts of the Gaza Strip and the announcement of the ceasefire, the IDF has refrained from extrajudicial killings. We strongly urge the Government of Israel to continue to refrain from targeted assassinations and to fulfil its right to defend its people within the boundaries of international humanitarian law.

Before I move on to the humanitarian situation, I would like to take this opportunity to emphasize the pressing need to create and build momentum. Both sides need to take steps that build trust and confidence. Each needs to demonstrate to the other that progress brings real and tangible benefits. Each needs to strengthen the capacity of the other to move forward through bold and courageous steps. To this end, we would strongly urge the Government of Israel to do more in terms of prisoner releases and in easing the daily living conditions of the Palestinians. I can think of few actions that would do more to build real trust and confidence. Prisoner releases in Northern Ireland set an encouraging precedent in this respect.

Unfortunately, since the last briefing to the Security Council, the humanitarian situation has seen little concrete improvement, despite the sharp decrease in violent clashes following the declaration of a ceasefire by Palestinian groups. The withdrawal of Israeli forces from parts of the Gaza Strip has been accompanied by some easing of restrictions on the movement of Palestinian workers and commodities. But closures, curfews and checkpoints have not been relaxed significantly in the West Bank. As a result, the economic deterioration in the occupied Palestinian territory and the human suffering of the Palestinian people have not yet reflected the progress achieved in these early stages of the road map process. Even with a full Israeli withdrawal, improvements in living conditions will take time to manifest themselves. My Office, the World Bank and United Nations agencies continue to monitor the socio-economic situation. We hope that steps will be agreed to by the parties in the near future that will pave the way for necessary improvements in the humanitarian situation.

The construction of the separation barrier, or wall, on which we have regularly briefed the Council, is continuing. Construction has been particularly intensive in the Tulkarem-Qalqilya governorates and around Jerusalem. We again call on the Government of Israel to halt construction of the Wall. Its construction is a unilateral act not in keeping with the road map, because it makes more difficult the creation of a viable, contiguous Palestinian State. We understand that Israel has security concerns, but it is important that those concerns be addressed in a manner that does not create unfortunate facts on the ground. Israel must act in accordance with its international humanitarian law obligations and the road map.

We have reported to the Council the difficulties experienced by humanitarian agencies in entering and leaving the Gaza Strip. We have described the effects of the movement restrictions on the abilities of United Nations and other agencies to fulfil humanitarian needs and their mandates. I am pleased to report that movement through the Erez checkpoint has improved since the previous briefing. The all-donor Task Force on Project Implementation, currently chaired by my Office, which addressed these questions, continued to discuss questions of access with the Israeli authorities. While access has recently improved, it continues to be difficult to determine which part of the Israeli Government is the best address for access concerns. We call on the Israeli Government to provide the international humanitarian community with an empowered interlocutor to address donor concerns.

Aspects of the parties' progress in implementing their commitments under the road map deserve to be enumerated. First, since the previous briefing to the Council, the Israelis and Palestinians have agreed to, and implemented, an Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Bethlehem in the West Bank. The Palestinian Authority has re-established security responsibility in those places.

Secondly, Palestinian groups have agreed to a ceasefire that prohibits attacks on Israelis everywhere. The ceasefire is largely holding, but regrettable violations have led to the deaths of Israelis. During this period, Palestinians, too, have, regrettably, lost their lives. Overall, however, violence has dramatically lessened since the withdrawals and the ceasefire. We hope that the ceasefire will lead to the disarming by the Palestinian Authority of all armed groups, so that, as envisioned by Prime Minister Abbas and called for by the road map, weapons are held only by members of the Palestinian security services.

Thirdly, the parties have begun a regular series of ministerial meetings, including meetings between the two Prime Ministers, that provide for further agreements on issues that include prisoner release and security cooperation.

Prime Ministers Abbas and Sharon deserve and need our support for the bold steps they are taking. We must recognize that their actions are unpopular in some quarters of their domestic constituencies. However, it is encouraging that recent opinion polling has shown that clear majorities in both communities embrace the road map, reject terror and violence and endorse the establishment of a Palestinian State on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The international community should work actively to show its support in these early days of this still-fragile process. But as in any peace process, the parties must help themselves and each other. Each of the Prime Ministers must show results to his people, lest support for the peace process weaken. Each must assist the other in order to move the process forward.

Prime Minister Sharon must demonstrate to the Israeli people that participation in the road map process will lead to an end to violence and terror. Prime Minister Abbas can directly assist the process by continuing the reform and consolidation of Palestinian security forces. In order to do so, Prime Minister Abbas needs the active support of Mr. Yasser Arafat, who is the democratically elected President of the Palestinian Authority and Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization. For his part, Prime Minister Abbas should also fulfil his commitment to take up security responsibility in those areas from which Israeli troops have withdrawn.

Finally, the Palestinians are beginning to work to end incitement in the Palestinian media.

Prime Minister Abbas must demonstrate to his people that the current efforts will improve the quality of their lives, that prisoners will be released and that progress is being made towards the realization of their long-held aspiration for a sovereign, viable and contiguous State. Popular support from ordinary Palestinians for the road map is essential to its success. It follows that the key to whether the Palestinians see the peace process as meaningful, and to whether Prime Minister Abbas's Government succeeds, lies largely in the hands of Prime Minister Sharon. By his actions, he can support or he can undermine.

Let me be clear where we stand. The Government of Israel should further ease and eventually lift the closure regime in the West Bank as a follow-up to the steps it has taken in the Gaza Strip. The peace process will seem real to Palestinians only when they are able to move freely, go to work and school, seek medical care and attend to other aspects of normal life without confronting checkpoints and humiliating procedures.

We are pleased that some steps in this direction have been taken by the Israelis. We are also pleased that there appear to be ongoing discussions aimed at the release of a significant number of prisoners. The

continued presence of settlement outposts established since March 2001 causes many Palestinians to question Israel's intent regarding this process. We urge the Government of Israel to continue its efforts to remove settlement outposts from the West Bank and prevent the erection of new ones.

The international community has a responsibility to take steps to assist the Palestinian Authority at the inception of the road map process. The all-donor grouping, the Local Aid Coordination Committee, which the Office of the Special Coordinator — my Office — co-chairs with the World Bank and Norway, is working with the Palestinian Authority to identify priorities for assistance. Quick-impact projects and longer-term development initiatives in those areas in which the Authority has taken up responsibility should be funded by the donor community. These projects could help the Palestinian people to see tangible benefits from the peace process. I should point out that the emergency appeal of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East remains under-funded.

Turning to the situation along the Blue Line, I am pleased to report that the overall relative calm that I mentioned in the previous briefing continues. Unfortunately, however, we remain worried about the continuation of certain actions that carry escalatory potential.

During my recent visit to Beirut, just two weeks ago, one unanimous concern animated all my interlocutors, namely, Israeli overflights in Lebanese airspace. The United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) has reported recent increases in such air violations. We have repeatedly called on the Government of Israel to respect Lebanon's sovereignty over its airspace and abstain from overflights. Other members of the Security Council have informed us that they have also called for a suspension of the overflights. Unfortunately, our calls have not been heeded.

We also believe also that the anti-aircraft fire from the Lebanese side, which has increased, is worrying. According to UNIFIL reports, anti-aircraft fire has at times been unrelated to overflights. In addition, some rounds have landed in Israel, constituting a violation of the Blue Line with escalatory potential. A graphic example of this occurred on 5 July, when three rounds of Hizbullah anti-aircraft fire were reported to have fallen on the Israeli town of Kiryat Shimona. UNIFIL reports that another such incident occurred yesterday in another Israeli town. I await a full report as to precisely what happened. Whether this firing is in response to overflights or not, we hold to the basic principle that one violation does not justify a further violation.

UNIFIL has reported that on 4 July, after numerous protests, the anti-aircraft gun that had been placed in close proximity to UNIFIL position 8-32 was finally removed. The continued extension of the authority of the Government of Lebanon throughout the south of the country would greatly assist in limiting the violations of the Blue Line from the Lebanese side.

The Secretary-General has on many occasions in the past called on both parties to meet their obligations and abide by relevant Security Council resolutions in fully respecting the Blue Line. We call again on both parties to cease those continuing violations in order to maintain what has been an otherwise relatively calm environment.

It has to be noted, however, that the stabilization of the situation in south Lebanon is best achieved by broadening the current peace process to encompass Lebanon and Syria, as contemplated in the road map. The Security Council has already certified that Israel's withdrawal from south Lebanon represents the full application of Security Council resolution 425 (1978). The remaining issues between the two countries should be quickly addressed in order to pave the way for concluding comprehensive peace agreements.

The situation in the Golan Heights remains calm, with both Syria and Israel respecting their core commitments under the Agreement on Disengagement. That mutual respect of commitments is a good precedent and a reason for optimism in the region, as it shows that the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict do implement agreements when signed. The calm on the Golan should, and could, be turned into peace. There is therefore a solid basis on which to resume negotiations between Israel and Syria. Only last week in Damascus, President Al-Assad of Syria personally expressed to me his readiness to resume those negotiations, based on the previously agreed terms of reference.

In addition to visiting Damascus, during the last two weeks I have met with leaders from Lebanon, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan, all of whom expressed support for the current peace efforts and a desire to

broaden the process in order to achieve a comprehensive and lasting peace. The road map stipulates a resumption of negotiations on both the Syrian and Lebanese tracks as early as January 2004. Such a development would greatly stabilize the peace process, including the Palestinian-Israeli track.

It is with pleasure that I report that the glimmers of hope that I spoke of when I last briefed the Council have been consolidated during the last few weeks. The atmosphere has improved considerably. The first halting steps — always the most painful — have been taken. Now is the time for the international community to rally its support of the parties as they proceed down the difficult path of the road map.

Peace processes, anywhere in the world, thrive on forward momentum. We must work to assist the parties to continue to move in a positive direction. Now is not the time for anyone involved in the process to look back in order to pit the past against the present in ways that could jeopardize the hopes of the future. Rather, we must put the past behind us in order to focus our energies on future peace and reconciliation.

Peacemaking, as we have said before, is not an event; it is a long, demanding and difficult process. The Israelis and Palestinians are at the beginning of that process. The end point, as agreed by the parties and the international community, is a just and comprehensive peace based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973) and 1397 (2002), and two States — Israel and Palestine — living side by side in peace and security.

Finally, I wish to pay tribute to Ambassador Miguel Angel Moratinos, who has recently stepped down as the Middle East envoy of the European Union. In seven years of work on the difficult issues of Middle East peacemaking, Ambassador Moratinos distinguished himself by his humanity, passion and diplomatic skills. I count him as a friend and will miss the partnership we have developed over the years. I welcome the new European Union envoy, Ambassador Marc Otte, and I look forward to working closely with him through the Quartet to implement the road map in the challenging period ahead. The difficulties are great, but so is the prize. Let us never forget that.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Mr. Roed-Larsen for his comprehensive briefing to the Council.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall now invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

*The meeting rose at 10.55 a.m.*

United Nations S/PV.4789

# Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

*Provisional*

**4789**th meeting

Friday, 18 July 2003, 10 a.m.

New York

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *President:* | Mr. Arias | (Spain) |
| *Members:* | Angola | Mr. Lucas |
| | Bulgaria | Mr. Kamenov |
| | Cameroon | Mr. Belinga-Eboutou |
| | Chile | Mr. Maquieira |
| | China | Mr. Zhang Yishan |
| | France | Mr. De La Sablière |
| | Germany | Mr. Pleuger |
| | Guinea | Mr. Boubacar Diallo |
| | Mexico | Mr. Pujalte |
| | Pakistan | Mr. Mahmood |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Konuzin |
| | Syrian Arab Republic | Mr. Mekdad |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Sir Jeremy Greenstock |
| | United States of America | Mr. Negroponte |

## Agenda

The situation in Sierra Leone

Eighteenth report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (S/2003/663)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-43253 (E)

*The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**The situation in Sierra Leone**

**Eighteenth report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (S/2003/663)**

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2003/663, which contains the text of the eighteenth report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone. Members of the Council also have before them document S/2003/713, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour*:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1492 (2003).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

*The meeting rose at 10.20 a.m.*

United Nations S/PV.4790

# Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

*Provisional*

**4790**th meeting

Friday, 18 July 2003, 10.20 a.m.

New York

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *President:* | Mr. Arias | (Spain) |
| *Members:* | Angola | Mr. Lucas |
| | Bulgaria | Mr. Tafrov |
| | Cameroon | Mr. Belinga-Eboutou |
| | Chile | Mr. Maquieira |
| | China | Mr. Zhang Yishan |
| | France | Mr. De La Sablière |
| | Germany | Mr. Pleuger |
| | Guinea | Mr. Boubacar Diallo |
| | Mexico | Mr. Pujalte |
| | Pakistan | Mr. Akram |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Konuzin |
| | Syrian Arab Republic | Mr. Mekdad |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Sir Jeremy Greenstock |
| | United States of America | Mr. Negroponte |

## Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-43259 (E)

*0343259*

*The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo**

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bangladesh, Brazil, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Egypt, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Nepal, the Philippines, Rwanda and South Africa, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ileka (Democratic Republic of the Congo) and Mr. Spatafora (Italy) took seats at the Council table; Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh), Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil), Mr. Aboul Gheit (Egypt), Mr. Jenie (Indonesia), Mr. Haraguchi (Japan), Mr. Sharma (Nepal), Mr. Baja (Philippines), Mr. Kamanzi (Rwanda) and Mr. Maitland (South Africa) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.*

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of any objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations.

It is so decided.

I invite Mr. Guéhenno to take a seat at the Council table.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of any objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Amos Namanga Ngongi, former Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

It is so decided.

I invite Mr. Ngongi to take a seat at the Council table.

I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 14 July 2003 from the Permanent Representative of Italy to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

> "Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to request that Mr. Javier Solana, Secretary-General and High Representative for the Common Foreign Policy and Security Policy of the European Union, be allowed to participate, on behalf of the European Union, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter and rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, in the Council's discussion to be held on 18 July 2003 on the Democratic Republic of the Congo."

That letter has been published as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/2003/709.

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 to Mr. Javier Solana.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Solana to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, at this meeting.

The Security Council will now hear a briefing by Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, to whom I give the floor.

**Mr. Guéhenno**: There have been several developments in the Democratic Republic of the Congo since the previous briefing to the Security Council on 7 July, especially the installation of the Transitional Government of National Unity. I will focus on the

situation in Bunia, while Mr. Ngongi, who has just completed an impressive two-year tour of duty as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, will brief the Council on the developments relating to the Transitional Government.

The security situation in Bunia remains calm but tense, following a military operation undertaken by the Interim Emergency Multinational Force against the Union des patriotes congolais (UPC) on 11 July. The Multinational Force Action was in response to the UPC's continuing attempts to assert its authority and to undermine the weapon-free-zone policy established by the force. This resulted in some UPC casualties, in the confiscation of a large number of apparently new weapons and ammunition and in the destruction of various pieces of equipment belonging to the UPC. In a separate incident on 13 July, armed elements shot at the internally displaced persons camp at the Uruguayan base near the airport, and the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) responded by returning fire.

The increased number of internally displaced persons returning to Bunia has required reinforced security measures, since many returnees, now estimated to number some 20,000 to 25,000, prefer to go to an internally displaced persons camp instead of returning home. In the meantime, the humanitarian situation, although much improved, remains a source of concern. A joint, high-level humanitarian assessment mission last week has found that, despite an improvement in the security situation in Bunia, many priorities, including camp conditions and the availability of basic services in the town, require immediate attention.

In the meantime, as indicated by the Secretary-General yesterday, MONUC, together with its partners, is stepping up efforts to implement the Ituri strategy, which was circulated widely to members of the Security Council and to other Member States. To that end, several concrete measures have been taken to operationalize the actions of the Ituri interim administration. Such initiatives include human rights training; preliminary recruitment of Iturian police that have taken up tasks at the airport in Bunia; bringing Radio Candip under the control of the Ituri Interim Administration; relocating the two makeshift medical clinics at the public hospital that is now guarded by MONUC; preparing an interim operation plan for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of child soldiers; and establishing a flexible trust fund through which the financial and material needs of the Ituri Interim Administration will be funded. The trust fund currently contains contributions from the United States of $250,000, and Germany is also expected to contribute $100,000.

Despite these encouraging initial steps towards normalizing life in Bunia, many challenges lie ahead. Above all, the most difficult task will be to end the pervasive culture of war and impunity. To this end, the armed groups in Ituri in particular should be encouraged to engage in a political process. Many efforts are under way in this regard, including the third meeting of the Comité de concertation des groupes armés, which will be held next week in Bunia. However, the continuing ambitions of Mr. Thomas Lubanga in expanding his authority and that of the UPC outside the context of the Ituri Interim Administration remain a source of concern.

The international community as a whole needs to increase its efforts to assist the Ituri Interim Administration in restoring basic services in Ituri, especially police, judiciary and corrections. In this context, it would be important that special initiatives be developed expeditiously to develop such local capacity as soon as possible. A Department of Peacekeeping Operations MONUC mission is currently in Bunia to examine this issue and produce an action plan. In the meantime, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and MONUC are also working hard to ensure a seamless transition from the Interim Emergency Multinational Force to the MONUC force, the first Bangladeshi elements of which arrived in Bunia on 15 July. In order to continue deterring and dissuading further military action, it will be crucial to maintain the robust character of the troops deployed in Bunia.

Another challenge that must not be neglected is the apparent continued re-arming of the various Iturian groups. During the recent reconnaissance mission to Kasenye and during the searches of houses conducted by the Multinational Force in Bunia, significant numbers of brand-new weapons have very recently been encountered.

(*spoke in French*)

It may seem that the challenges facing us are even greater than the progress that has been made. Yet we are convinced that with the deployment of a robust

brigade-size force the vicious circle of impunity can be broken and the Ituri Interim Authority will be able to expand its authority throughout Ituri.

A great deal has already been achieved to this end.

I am grateful to Member States for quickly responding to the Secretary-General's appeal for an effective intervention in May. The fact that a multinational force was deployed by the European Union — the first operation of the European Union outside Europe — sends a clear and strong signal to all those who are concerned that the world is not reacting as it should to those who undermine peace efforts by engaging in destructive acts, which have cost the lives of thousands of innocent civilians. MONUC will continue to build on the political foundation that has been created through the deployment of Operation Artemis.

We have every confidence in the development of our cooperation with the European Union and with other Member States to assist the citizens of the Congo in overcoming the challenges still facing them.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Mr. Guéhenno for the information that he has given us. The Council will now hear a briefing by Mr. Amos Namanga Ngongi, the former Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Before I give him the floor, allow me, on behalf of the members of the Council, to extend our thanks once again to Mr. Ngongi for the dedication with which he served the cause of peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo during his two years of distinguished service in extremely difficult circumstances. As the Secretary-General has noted, Mr. Ngongi's tireless efforts contributed considerably to the recent progress in the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I extend our appreciation to him, and I give him the floor.

**Mr. Ngongi** (*spoke in Spanish*): Thank you, Mr. President, for your very kind words.

(*spoke in English*)

I wish to follow up on the statement made by Mr. Guéhenno, which has already touched on the critical areas, especially Ituri. I will focus on the transitional process.

It is with a great sense of relief and pleasure that I wish formally to inform the Council that yesterday, 17 July, Mr. Jean-Pierre Bemba of the Mouvement pour la libération du Congo (MLC), Mr. Azarias Ruberwa of the Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie-Goma (RCD-Goma), Mr. Yerodia Ndombasi of the former Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Mr. Arthur Z'Ahidi Ngoma of the unarmed opposition were formally sworn in as vice-presidents of the Transitional Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It was a landmark event and a decisive moment in the four-year-old peace process. When I took over my functions almost two years ago, it sounded like a dream, but today it is a reality.

This is a remarkable development in the light of the fact that, following President Kabila's announcement on 30 June, several developments threatened to delay the calendar for the installation of the new Transitional Government. Those included RCD-Goma's unilateral decision on 10 July to repartition three military regions, which include areas from which the movement is to withdraw in accordance with the Bujumbura Act of Engagement. That decision came as a surprise to all, particularly as the issue was still under discussion in the Commission de Suivi. In addition, on 13 July the RCD-Goma ministerial delegates bound for Kinshasa refused to board a plane that had been dispatched by the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) due to a disagreement relating to the number of bodyguards. Those two manoeuvres led to questions about the level of commitment of the RCD-Goma to participating in the transition process and to speculation that its ultimate intention might be the continued exercise of control over regions currently under its control. Following those developments, the International Committee for Support to the Transition (ICST) was convened on 13 July. It rejected the distribution by RCD-Goma of the military regions and of command structures and regretted that the disagreement over the number of bodyguards had impeded the RCD-Goma's arrival in Kinshasa.

On 15 July, at a meeting of the Commission de Suivi, all parties, with the exception of the RCD, agreed on a formula for the distribution of the military regions: three for the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, two for the MLC, two for the RCD-Goma, one for the RCD/Kisangani Mouvement de libération (RCD/KML), one for the RCD-National

and one for the Mai-Mai. Of course, that distribution of military regions currently presents the greatest stumbling block, because RCD-Goma is contesting that decision and wishes to see an early session of the new cabinet discuss the issue.

I should like to inform the Council that following the assumption of duties by the new Foreign Minister, Mr. Antoine Ghonda, on 7 July, the formal handover of power between the outgoing and incoming ministers and vice-ministers took place on 15 and 16 July. Representatives of all components and entities of the inter-Congolese dialogue thus now occupy ministerial positions in the Transitional Government and are expected to be formally sworn in shortly.

There are several challenges on the way for the Transitional Government. Mr. Guéhenno has rightly focused on Ituri. With respect to the situation in Ituri, I can say only that it should not be regarded as just a short-term deployment of troops. I am encouraged to see the draft resolution, which contains wording for the deployment to Ituri of a robust force with an appropriate mandate. But additional action needs to be taken to end the reign of impunity, not only in Ituri but throughout the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

As I leave, I reflect that the Security Council adopts many resolutions deploying many troops around the world, and that the main driving force behind all those operations is the massive abuse of human rights and the grave humanitarian situation faced by populations. I would urge that those driving forces for the deployment of troops not be overlooked. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, conditions are now more and more favourable for major humanitarian relief operations.

The establishment of the Transitional Government — four years after the signing of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement — is a historic milestone. During that period, the international community, through MONUC and bilaterally, has played a decisive role in pushing the parties to fulfil their commitments. That effort should not be reduced. There will be crises and problems in the process — and there are signs of that already. But all the efforts that have been made to bring the Lusaka Peace Agreement to this stage and to implement all relevant Security Council resolutions will have been wasted if the Security Council does not maintain an active interest in moving the process forward.

However, the formation of a Transitional Government is not the end of the reconciliation process. The installation of the new, inclusive Government is only the beginning of a new chapter. As the Secretary-General stated in his second special report, immense challenges remain. A concerted and unified effort by all is necessary.

(*spoke in French*)

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you, Mr. President, very warmly and, through you, to extend my thanks to the members of the Security Council for the support that I have received for almost two years now. I believe that, without that support, I would not have been able to accomplish much of anything and, above all, that the personnel of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) — which works in truly difficult conditions — would not have had the courage necessary to carry out their activities.

I wish also to express my heartfelt thanks to the Secretary-General, who provided me with the opportunity to participate in a peacekeeping operation. That added a new dimension to my career at the United Nations. Now, more than ever before, I am convinced that there can be never be any progress without peace and security in countries. I wish also to pay tribute to the Congolese people, who supported me during those two difficult years, sometimes marked by misunderstandings due to the need to implement the Security Council's decisions. But, ultimately, I think that the Congolese can be proud of having been able to resolve the problem. They are on the path to peace and security.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I now call on the representative of Italy.

**Mr. Spatafora** (Italy): I am taking the floor on behalf of the Italian Presidency of the Council of the European Union. Mr. President, I wish to thank you, first of all for organizing this public meeting on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and for giving the European Union the opportunity to address the Security Council on that relevant issue. On behalf of the European Union, it is my pleasure to introduce Mr. Javier Solana, Secretary-General and High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union. He is ready to take the floor as soon as you will allow him to do so.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I now give the floor to Mr. Javier Solana, Secretary-General and High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union.

**Mr. Solana** (*spoke in French*): I am taking the floor before the Council after having just completed the mission to the Great Lakes region, which enabled me to speak with Presidents Kabila, Kagame and Museveni and to visit Bunia, where the Interim Emergency Multinational Force, Artemis, is deployed under European Union auspices. I should like to share with you some thoughts, some European Union commitments and some concerns.

In response to the Secretary-General's appeal, the European Union decided to deploy a multinational force to Bunia. That operation — a first for the European Union, which had never before sent military contingents outside Europe — made it possible to stop the massacres at Bunia and helped to relaunch the peace process, which had stalled at Kinshasa.

(*spoke in Spanish*)

In fact, the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has been characterized from its outset by a fundamental anomaly: the coexistence of the political option and the military option. On the one hand, the belligerent parties negotiate and sign ceasefire agreements, while on the other, those same persons or groups continue their military operations on the ground in the hope of achieving a military victory. That ambiguity has been perpetuated by what we have called "negative forces", present in all the components and armed units, for whom maintenance of the status quo seems more desirable than implementation of the peace agreement, since that would result in the loss of their personal power.

Those "negative forces" have done everything possible to defeat the peace process several times. They have not succeeded, thanks to the determination of the Congolese people and their leaders, who wanted peace, and thanks to the vigilance and resolve of the international community. However, they have not given up completely on their objectives. The escalation of the Ituri crisis gave those forces a new opportunity to jeopardize the peace process: the capture of Bunia by the Union of Congolese Patriots (UPC), the reaction of the Kinshasa Government and the offensive launched against Beni by the Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (RCD), with the risk of a direct intervention by Uganda and Rwanda, led, inevitably, to the undermining of the Sun City agreements.

I believe that the rapid deployment of the European Multinational Force halted that dangerous downward spiral in the process and made it possible to relaunch negotiations, which had been bogged down for weeks. The agreement related to the staff of the armed forces has finally been concluded, thus creating the conditions for the establishment of a Government of National Unity and transitional institutions that involve all Congolese parties. That was a fundamental step made possible by the commitment of, among others, the Secretary-General's Special Envoy, Mr. Moustapha Niasse, and the delegation of facilitators from the Republic of South Africa. Here, I should like to pay tribute to them on behalf of the European Union, which, through its Special Representative, assisted them throughout the negotiation period in Pretoria and Kinshasa. An important role was also played by the International Committee in Support of the Transition, which paved the way for the agreement on the military issue.

The European Union's mission to Bunia has been going smoothly thus far. After the minor incidents that marked the beginning of the operation and led the Force to use its weapons, the situation stabilized rapidly. The Force was able to secure the airport and the refugee camps, to prohibit the open bearing of arms in Bunia from 24 June onwards, and to establish checkpoints at the city's entrances. The Force reached its full deployment at the beginning of July, one week ahead of schedule. Thus, the objectives set for the force have been attained.

The improvement in security conditions is obvious; there are many positive indicators, as I saw a few days ago on the ground. Humanitarian organizations are now able to leave Bunia to visit peoples that they could not reach before. A constant flow of refugees — 1,000 to 1,500 people daily — is returning to the city, and the Ituri Interim Administration can again carry out some activities. On my trip to Bunia, I was able to see that improvement for myself. I saw the smiling faces of the children in the refugee camps, despite conditions that remain precarious, and the warm thanks expressed by the members of the interim administration of Ituri and the gratitude of non-governmental organizations for the action of the European Union force are a tribute to what has been accomplished.

But it is essential to preserve the achievements made so far. For that reason, as the 27 May report of the Secretary-General (S/2003/566) emphasizes, a strengthened presence of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) must be deployed in Bunia within the planned time frame. That force must, in our view, have a mandate and rules of engagement similar to those of the European Union Force — in other words, a mandate under Chapter VII. It must also have the equipment and the military resources needed for the mission's functioning and for the implementation of the mandate and the rules of engagement. If we wish to be able to re-establish security in the region beyond the limits of the capital city, we shall also have to deploy greater forces.

We believe that that point is of capital importance if we wish to avoid further difficulties being created by the European Force's departure at the end of its mandate. The commander of the Artemis operation has done everything necessary to ensure that the transition to the strengthened MONUC force will take place under the best possible conditions.

At the same time, strong pressure should be brought to bear on the warlords who are leading the militias. The European Union resolutely backs the proposal for an embargo on arms aimed at North Kivu, South Kivu and Ituri. The European Union intends to promote initiatives aimed at preventing those responsible for war crimes, crimes against humanity and acts of genocide committed in the Democratic Republic of the Congo from enjoying impunity.

In our view, efforts to stabilize the military situation must be accompanied and supported by a process of political normalization through the consolidation of the interim institutions set up by the Ituri Pacification Commission; the return to the rule of law; the observance by the various militias of the ceasefire agreement signed in Dar es-Salaam last May; the control, and, ultimately, the abolition of those militias; and an end to external interference. We believe it essential that MONUC succeed in setting up a political unit in Bunia that is capable of administering this particularly delicate and complex process.

The European Union, for its part, is determined to use every means at its disposal to support the political process now under way. That involves technical and financial support for the Ituri Interim Administration and the Ituri Pacification Commission, as well as for the process of disarming, demobilizing and reintegrating combatants into the Ituri district. The European Union also commits itself to supporting programmes for the socio-economic rehabilitation of Ituri and the local reconciliation process.

We are also prepared and committed to continue supporting the transitional process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo until the elections are held. Throughout this period, the Union will strive, through the use of every means at its disposal, to make a substantial contribution to funding for the reconstruction, rehabilitation and development of the Democratic Republic in the Congo in all areas, in accordance with the priorities set by the recently established Government of National Unity. In that context, I am pleased to announce the adoption on 9 July of a programme of strategic support amounting to 205 million euros.

Among the priorities of the new Government will be the creation of the integrated and restructured National Republican Army and the start of a demobilization and reintegration programme for all combatants who have not been integrated into that army. The international community will have to give its determined support to these complex priority projects. The European Union undertakes to firmly support the demobilization and reintegration programme. As members are aware, the European Union has also begun discussions on support for the peacekeeping forces of the African Union, which have just resulted in the adoption of a financing mechanism, announced by the European Union at the Maputo Summit.

The holding of elections within the timetable set by the Peace Agreement is a further challenge that the transitional Government will have to face. President Kabila has again put to me his request for assistance, which he has already made on several occasions. I can inform members that the European Union, for its part, is in the process of examining arrangements for providing aid, which could include significant support for the Independent Electoral Commission. The Commission's first task will be to conduct a census on which future electoral rolls will be based. We are all aware that that is a huge task, given the country's large size and limited infrastructure and communication links. That is why it is necessary to begin that operation immediately, even though the elections may not be held for another two years. In that context, the

logistical support of MONUC will be indispensable. Here the model used in Mozambique, where the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (UNOMOZ) made its logistical and transportation resources available to the national electoral commission, could serve as a precedent.

(*spoke in English*)

Before concluding, I would like to make a final point. Progress in the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and its positive effects throughout the central African region have made it possible to envisage organizing a regional conference on the peace, security and development of the Great Lakes region. The European Union has been calling for such a conference for many years. The Secretary-General has entrusted its preparation to Mr. Ibrahima Fall, whose already considerable work is to be applauded. The holding of such a conference clearly depends on the consolidation of the peace processes in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in Burundi, where, regrettably, the situation is still deteriorating and where there is still a considerable way to go. The conference should, however, remain a priority objective for all of us.

With the establishment of the Government of National Unity in Kinshasa, I think that a window of opportunity has been opened in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in the Great Lakes region as a whole. This fundamental step in the peace process has been made possible not only as a result of the desire for peace of the Congolese people and of their leaders — beginning with President Kabila, to whom I pay tribute — but also because of the unfailing commitment of the international community, which has been able to speak with one voice and bring the necessary pressure to bear on the warring factions to defeat the resistance put up by the enemies of peace. That commitment must be maintained and, indeed, reinforced now that the new Government of National Unity is setting out on the difficult road of transition towards elections.

I would like to restate the firm intention of the European Union to step up its efforts to give the new Congolese Government the political, economic and financial support it needs successfully to complete the complicated transitional process, put an end to the suffering of the Congolese people and guide the country towards democracy.

**Mr. Pleuger** (Germany): At the outset, I would like to thank the Secretary-General and his team for their tireless and determined efforts to resolve the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We understand that the new Special Representative, Mr. Swing, has had a good start, and we would like to congratulate him on that and wish him well. I would like also to express our gratitude to Mr. Guéhenno, to Special Representative Ngongi and to High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union (EU) Javier Solana for their briefings.

Germany fully agrees with the assessment that has just been given by the EU High Representative, Mr. Solana, and we fully support the EU efforts to support the peace process. We recognize that the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in the Great Lakes region in general remains difficult. The recent violence in Burundi in particular is very worrying.

But there are positive developments and encouraging signs as well. While the responsibility for the success of the peace process ultimately lies with the protagonists on the ground, we share the views expressed by Mr. Guéhenno and Mr. Solana that the peace process has to be strongly supported and accompanied by the international community.

From the outset, Germany has given its full support to the recommendations of the Secretary-General on adjusting the mandate of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) to confront the altered realities in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. As requested in Security Council resolution 1484 (2003), we have supported the deployment of a EU-led Interim Emergency Multinational Force to stabilize the situation in Bunia prior to the arrival of new MONUC contingents. The draft resolution, which is presently being negotiated in the Council, introduces an ambitious but viable adjustment to the mandate of MONUC.

We welcome the focus of military forces on the problematic regions in eastern Congo and on Kinshasa, in order to provide security for the Transitional Government. We also support the expanded peace-building components related to establishing a proper police force, respect for the rule of law, justice, and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR).

In our view, the problem of child soldiers should be accorded special significance in the DDR process. At present, we are examining the possibility of providing support in this field and would be interested in hearing about possible initiatives by the United Nations Children's Fund or the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, Mr. Otunnu. We are very concerned about reports that the recruitment of child soldiers in the region continues unabated, in particular, and most recently, the information that the majority of Forces nationals de libération (FNL) rebels killed in last week's fighting near Bujumbura were only 11 to 15 years old.

We share the Secretary-General's view that militia leaders such as Lubanga must be held accountable for such acts and other gross abuses of human rights and humanitarian law.

I would like also to draw attention to the fact that the recruitment of child soldiers is a crime according to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC). In that respect, we note with interest the announcement made by the ICC Prosecutor, Mr. Luis Moreno Ocampo, that his Office has designated the situation in Ituri as a most urgent situation to be followed, that he will use all the powers at his disposal to prevent future crimes and combat impunity and that, if necessary, he will seek authorization from a Pre-Trial Chamber to start an investigation.

The political sensitivity displayed by the ICC Prosecutor, as well as his circumspection in describing the complementarity between his role and the role of the Transitional Government, deserve particular mention and approbation. In a policy paper presented at a public hearing in The Hague, on 17 and 18 June 2003, the Prosecutor elaborated on the principle of complementarity of Court action vis-à-vis national action and drew two important conclusions with immediate relevance to the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. First, that the Office of the Prosecutor must monitor and assess efforts made by national authorities; and secondly, that the Office of the Prosecutor must cooperate with national jurisdictions and use its best efforts to help State authorities fulfil their duty to investigate and prosecute at the national level.

Germany views the positions taken by the Prosecutor as yet another indication that he will exercise his important office in the most responsible and fair manner. We reiterate our encouragement to the Transitional Government and the ICC Prosecutor to explore practical ways of cooperation.

We further believe that it would be appropriate for the Council, which has been against impunity in a very outspoken way, to appreciate these endeavours and, against the backdrop of these developments, to engage in a policy dialogue with Mr. Moreno-Ocampo, concerning both the case at stake and other broader issues. This situation illustrates that the Security Council and the ICC are committed to very similar objectives — or rather, to the very same objectives.

We welcome the imposition of an arms embargo against all rebel groups operating in eastern Congo. That is the right approach to restrict the military resources of Congolese militias as well as to protect neighbouring States from rebel attacks emanating from the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This approach, together with the activities of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, could prove to be more effective than the rather isolated DDR programmes have been so far.

However, we wish that the draft resolution now being negotiated could also establish an efficient monitoring regime, and that the Security Council could manifest its political will to impose punitive measures on those who violate the embargo. We hope that this aspect will be considered in future resolutions if it cannot be included in the present one.

Reports about continuing weapons deliveries by neighbouring States to the rebel groups, if confirmed, will have a profoundly negative effect on our bilateral relations with those countries.

Given the situation on the ground and the challenges that the Transitional Government and the international community are facing in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the challenges are enormous. If we want to translate the vision of political and social stability, of democracy, of the rule of law and the respect for human rights, into reality, both the Congolese and the international community, including MONUC, have to live up to their responsibility.

**Mr. Pujalte** (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): We welcome the presence in our midst today of Secretary-General Kofi Annan. We thank Mr. Jean-Marie

Guéhenno, Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, and Mr. Amos Namanga Ngongi, former Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, for their briefings on the situation in the country. Our thanks go also to Mr. Javier Solana, Secretary-General of the Council of the European Union and High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, for having shared with the Council his thoughts and perceptions inspired by his recent visit to the Great Lakes region.

There is no doubt that the scale of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as well as the international community's commitment to promote peace in that country, have left their mark on the work of the Security Council, which has been constantly alert and attentive to developments on the ground and has taken measures to make a constructive contribution and to support the parties involved in the quest for solutions.

Recently the Security Council adopted resolution 1484 (2003) which approved the deployment of the Interim Emergency Multinational Force in Bunia in response to the violent events which took place in that region in May. We are grateful to France for its commitment, participation and leadership. Without doubt, the Multinational Force has made it possible to stabilize the situation. At the same time we wish to convey our appreciation for the invaluable work done by the Uruguayan contingent of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), whose presence made it possible to keep the situation in Bunia under control until the Multinational Force could be deployed.

In recent weeks, Security Council members have been working to draw up and define the terms of a draft resolution to strengthen the mandate of MONUC, in keeping with the recommendations of the Secretary-General and with a view to giving the mission a robust mandate. With this conviction, Council members have now virtually agreed upon a draft text which is likely to be adopted within the next few days.

Given the importance of disarmament and demobilization in the peace process, as well as the establishment of a police force responsible for domestic security, the draft resolution also includes provisions to enable MONUC to support the Transitional Government in this area.

The coordination of action between the Multinational Force and MONUC is very important, bearing in mind that MONUC will take control of the situation on the ground on 1 September 2003.

We hail Bangladesh's decision to deploy a 3,800-strong contingent in Bunia to replace the Multinational Force. At the same time, the Security Council has succeeded in maintaining ongoing dialogue with all the parties involved. Its members have visited the region on a number of occasions, for the purpose of encouraging the parties to fulfil their commitments, and directly to convey the determination of the Security Council to support the peace process. We welcome the progress made in the political area. We are pleased to note the peaceful manner in which the return of political leaders to the Democratic Republic of the Congo is taking place, in particular that of Mr. Jean-Pierre Bemba of the Mouvement pour la libération du Congo. In that regard, we are particularly pleased to note that the members of the Transitional Government have taken office, in particular the four Vice-Presidents, who were sworn in yesterday at Kinshasa. We wish the authorities of the Transitional Government every success, and we trust that they will be able to uphold their commitment to peace and political dialogue.

There are still many outstanding issues, particularly the question of human rights. In that regard, there are many matters to be addressed by the Transitional Government. The Government will have to pay special attention to trials to punish the crimes and violations that have taken place and to prevent impunity. On the humanitarian level, every effort must be made to ensure the safe return of refugees and displaced persons. Lastly, we encourage neighbouring countries to commit themselves to supporting the peace process so that we may put an end to this conflict that has caused so much damage to the Congolese population and to the region in general.

**Mr. de La Sablière** (France) (*spoke in French*): We are pleased to have the Secretary-General with us this morning.

We would like to thank Mr. Guéhenno and Mr. Ngongi for the briefings they have just given us, which have described the contrasting situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo since the last Security Council mission. We have noted some very positive developments, for which we should be glad

and which we should now seek to encourage. It should nevertheless be borne in mind that, despite those positive developments, some grounds for concern continue to exist. For example, fighting has not come to a definitive end in the Kivus. Moreover, in Ituri the relative stability that now prevails in Bunia is still fragile. I shall come back to this point later.

I fully associate myself with the statement made today by Mr. Javier Solana. I very much concur with his analysis and I thank him for the details he has given us following his recent visit to the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Through Operation Artemis, the Member States of the European Union — including France as the lead nation and the other countries that have joined the Interim Emergency Multinational Force, whose contribution I wish to recognize — it has been possible to prevent a humanitarian tragedy by intervening at a decisive moment. By embodying the resolve of the Security Council and demonstrating the European Union's interest in the Great Lakes region of Africa, the deployment of the Force has also made it possible to consolidate the political process under way in Kinshasa. In that regard, as has already been said, we can only be gratified at the launching of the transitional period in the Democratic Republic of the Congo with the swearing-in yesterday of the four Vice-Presidents and tomorrow's first scheduled meeting of the ministerial council of the Transitional Government of National Unity.

By intervening resolutely on the ground the Multinational Force made it possible to stabilize the situation in Bunia. As Mr. Solana has said, those displaced by violence are gradually returning to the town; militia, which have been kept under control and urged to no longer carry weapons, have found themselves rendered relatively harmless; and interim institutions have been strengthened and are gaining confidence and trust. Bunia is once again becoming a normal place in a Democratic Republic of the Congo that is on the road to normalization. However, as I have said, we must remain vigilant because the situation remains fragile.

By mobilizing in that way, the European Union and its member States have also helped to strengthen the peace process by making additional resources available and by providing support to the new Congolese national institutions.

The need to effectively replace the Multinational Force in Bunia on 1 September 2003 has no doubt increased awareness about the importance of strengthening the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC). The draft resolution that we will adopt shortly will give the Mission a more robust mandate and will increase its personnel, particularly in Ituri, where 3,800 men will be deployed with appropriate equipment, pursuant to the recommendations of the Secretary-General.

If we want the Congolese peace process to take root permanently, we must ensure respect for the principle of the unity and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of the Congo over the whole of its territory. The holding of elections in two years' time, at the end of the transitional period, will be meaningful only if the elections involve the entire country. We should also ensure respect for the security and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and all States of the region. Those countries should be able to live in peace within their borders. In that regard, the formulas already mentioned in the Council — such as, for example, a declaration of good-neighbourliness made within a regional context that could eventually be endorsed by a future international conference on peace in the Great Lakes region — merit further development and encouragement.

I would add that combating impunity is also essential. In that regard, we have noted with interest the proposal made recently by the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court.

I would like to underscore that the deployment of Operation Artemis in Bunia is a particularly important event in the relationship between the European Union and the United Nations. That act represents a first step, which will undoubtedly be decisive, towards cooperation in the area of peacekeeping.

In conclusion, I would like to tell Mr. Ngongi once again how much we appreciated his work at the head of MONUC. The baton has now been very successfully passed to Ambassador Swing, who assumed his new duties with his well-known competence. We assure him of our support.

**Mr. Boubacar Diallo** (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): I would first of all like to welcome the presence in the Chamber of the Secretary-General. His presence here reaffirms, if indeed there was a need for

such reassurance, the great importance he attaches to our debate today.

Like previous speakers, allow me also to convey my delegation's appreciation to Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, for the comprehensive briefing he has just given us on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I would also like to convey our gratitude to Mr. Javier Solana, Secretary-General and High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union, who has just returned from a visit to Central Africa, for his extremely informative statement, which my delegation has listened to closely. I would also like to take this opportunity to express my delegation's gratitude to Mr. Amos Namanga Ngongi for his informative statement and for the effective manner in which he guided the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) during a particularly difficult period replete with challenges.

The holding of this meeting 10 days after the session devoted to the human rights situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo illustrates our shared concern and determination to find a speedy and lasting solution to the fratricidal conflict that has ravaged that country for several years now. The date of 30 June 2003, which is a key day in the country's political development, marked the official announcement of the membership of the Transitional Government of National Unity. That important event was followed by the swearing-in of the four Vice-Presidents, with the swearing-in of the other members of the new Government team being expected tomorrow.

This is a clear demonstration of the will of the Congolese people to reconcile their differences and forget the bitterness of the past so that, together, they can devote their energy to building a homogeneous and strong nation that can take charge of its own destiny.

Furthermore, that demonstration of will fully reflects the vision of President Kabila, who recently stated:

> "The elements and entities utilized in the context of the inter-Congolese dialogue are now a part of the past. Since we are embarking upon a process of transition, such labels must disappear. Neither tribal nor ethnic considerations, neither political affinities nor regional factionalism, can take precedence over the highest interests of the country."

While welcoming such significant progress, we would like to remind the Council that the journey ahead will be long and rife with hidden dangers. The Congolese people have not yet completed their arduous task and, with the support of the international community, must work to meet those challenges.

My delegation believes that one of those challenges will be the dismantling of the armed groups, whose pernicious actions, as we are all well aware, have contributed to the fragmentation of the country. The effective implementation of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme, in which priority must be given to the problem of child soldiers, is thus of major importance and cannot be ignored. This must be accompanied by appropriate arms-control measures.

Furthermore, we cannot remain silent in the face of the numerous violations of human rights and international humanitarian law — massacres, rape and other atrocities — committed in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, particularly in the north-eastern part of the country. We believe that there can be no definitive peace in the country if impunity is tolerated, whether overtly or covertly.

Such violations must be the subject of intensive investigation, so that the sponsors of such crimes and those who perpetrated them are punished to the fullest extent of the law. To that end, it is our duty to contribute to the establishment of the necessary institutional framework.

Furthermore, the decision of the Security Council to send the Interim Emergency Multinational Force to Bunia has proved to be a wise and effective one, as the presence of that Force on the ground has, at the very least, made it possible to restore calm and reassure the population. In order to consolidate that action and expand the Force throughout the territory, my delegation shares the view that the troops of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) should be strengthened and provided with a more robust mandate. The information provided earlier by Mr. Guéhenno further strengthens that conviction.

In this connection, the draft resolution already negotiated at the expert level should by adopted by the

Council as soon as possible, as that will facilitate the transition, under conditions of security and in a timely manner, from the multinational force to the second MONUC task force.

The illegal exploitation of natural resources is another very important aspect of the climate of violence that has prevailed to date in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. A victim of insatiable greed, the country has been subjected to systematic dismemberment by armed movements and groups that have bled it dry. Apart from the economic profits generated for these groups, this has led to the balkanization of the territory and the consequent strengthening of the influence of such groups, which have thereby consolidated their political domination. That situation, which is very damaging to the unity and integrity of the country, has further served to unravel the social fabric and weaken central authority. It is urgently necessary to reverse that trend and thereby allow the Congolese people to regain sovereignty over their national resources.

My delegation would like to thank Ambassador Kassem and his team; their insight and skill have helped to reveal the mechanisms by means of which such plunder has occurred. We encourage them to continue their activities, and await with interest their mid-term assessment, which, we are sure, will shed new light on this issue.

In conclusion, I should like to emphasize that, over and above the efforts of the Congolese people — efforts backed by a genuine will to succeed — the cooperation of neighbouring States will be indispensable for the ultimate restoration of peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Without their understanding and political will, the many efforts that are being made will not succeed. That is why my delegation would like once again urgently to appeal to them to make the best possible use of their positive influence to contribute to the realization of that objective.

There is no doubt that the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is a complex web and that it has many ramifications. If it is to untangle that web, the international community has no choice but to assist the Congolese people in their quest for national harmony, stability and development. What is at stake here is the future of peace in the subregion, in Africa and throughout the world.

**Mr. Lucas** (Angola): We would like at the outset to thank the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno; the former Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mr. Amos Namanga Ngongi; and the Secretary-General and High Representative for the Common Foreign Policy and Security Policy of the European Union, Mr. Javier Solana, for their briefings on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We pay special tribute to Mr. Amos Namanga Ngongi for his outstanding contribution to the advancement of peace in Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The holding of this meeting at such a crucial moment in the political process in the Congo reflects the great importance that the international community attaches to this issue and its concern about the events that are unfolding in the country, as well as its resolve to put an end to the bloodshed and to do everything in its power in order to ensure that the Democratic Republic of the Congo can build a future of peace and prosperity for its citizens and contribute to regional peace and stability.

Angola, as a neighbouring country of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, is particularly concerned about the situation and has done everything within its power to put an end to the Congolese crisis. Among the efforts made with a view to reaching a peaceful settlement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Government of Angola sponsored the Luanda Agreement of 6 September 2002, which established the basis for a settlement in the Ituri area and remains the basis for the attainment of peace and a political process in the region.

The consequences of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which has inflicted upon the population profound suffering and atrocities, provoked the indignation of the international community, prompting it to act swiftly and with determination. Indeed, we have witnessed the grossest violations human rights — blind acts of violence and naked atrocities perpetrated against civilians. The dramatic humanitarian situation has placed the Congolese population in an untenable situation, and the recruitment and use of children as soldiers has provoked general indignation on the part of all peace-loving nations.

Faced with such a dismal state of affairs, the Security Council took decisive action and has expressed its readiness to continue addressing the Congolese issue with determination and a sense of purpose. The deployment of the Interim Emergency Multinational Force to Bunia to put an end to a situation that threatened to derail the entire peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and caused consternation to all of us, was a clear signal of the international community's determination. The Security Council is currently considering a mandate for the United Nations mission in Congo that would constitute a serious commitment to peace and an end to human rights violations and impunity and provide for the effective provision of humanitarian assistance to the Congolese people.

It is clear that the conflict has a decisive external factor. The international community has been addressing that issue. In our view, however, it should step up its efforts and adopt measures to deal with it decisively. It is our belief that unless the issue of foreign intervention in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is properly addressed and resolved, it will be very difficult — if not impossible — to establish sustainable peace in the country and ensure for the Congolese people the peace they yearn for so dearly.

The proposals contained in the second special report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) (S/2003/566), which the members of the Security Council have expressed their willingness to support, might represent an important breakthrough for the attainment of the goals outlined in the report.

Consequently, the likely adoption of a resolution containing provisions in line with the Secretary-General's recommendations, against the background of a Government of national unity in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, represents, it is to be hoped, a solid framework for the achievement of sustainable peace in the country.

In that connection, we welcome the establishment of the Government of national unity and transition as an important landmark on the road to peace and national reconciliation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is our expectation that the United Nations and the international community will play a decisive role in assisting the Congolese Government and people in the transitional phase.

The Security Council's adoption of a new resolution and the deployment of MONUC with a new mandate will place on the Congolese political leaders the responsibility to allow the transitional institutions to function at the national level, to address the question of human rights as a national priority, to put an end to the illegal exploitation of the natural resources of the country, which must serve the Congolese people, and to look into the future with confidence and work for the common good.

As we now see it today, the international community is prepared to invest much good will and significant resources to ensure a peaceful transition and to assist the economic and social reconstruction of the country. It is up to the Congolese people to seize that opportunity for a new beginning in order to build a united, peaceful, prosperous and respected nation.

**Mr. Negroponte** (United States of America): My delegation joins in expressing satisfaction that the Secretary-General was with us earlier this morning. We are also grateful for the presentations that were made by Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, and Mr. Amos Namanga Ngongi, former Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We welcome back to the Council Mr. Javier Solana, the Secretary-General and High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union.

The United States welcomes the inauguration yesterday of the Transitional Government in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and agrees that this is an extremely important and vital step towards unifying the country, ending five years of war and launching the country on a democratic path. I would like to affirm here that the United States strongly supports the Transitional Government. We believe that several important questions and challenges face the new Government as it strives to re-establish security throughout the country, to integrate its military and police, to reform the economy and to implement the two-year democratic transition. To succeed in those tasks, it is critical that members of the Government work collectively and collaboratively and that States in the region act cooperatively to support the process of bringing peace and stability to the people of the

Democratic Republic of the Congo and others in the Great Lakes region who have been so severely affected by the conflict.

The United States would like to thank Mr. Solana and, through him, the European Union and the countries contributing to the multinational force, especially the Government of France for the lead role that it has played in that regard. The European Union's effort to improve the security situation in Bunia is much appreciated. Troops from the contributing countries have been asked to carry out a dangerous and important mission, and the United States praises their courage, their effort and the contribution that they have made to peace in the Congo, especially in the Ituri region. In that connection, it will be important to lend continuing support to the fledgling Ituri administration so that the citizens of that province can lead their lives in peace and tranquillity, rather than under the terror of rival militias.

Finally, I would like to express appreciation for the excellent work that Mr. Amos Namanga Ngongi has done in his capacity as Special Representative of the Secretary-General during the two years that he spent in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I would also like to thank him personally for the many courtesies that he extended to the Security Council mission during its recent visit to the Central African countries during the month of June.

I would also like to take this opportunity to express satisfaction that Mr. Ngongi's successor, the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, is Ambassador William Swing, a fellow American with vast experience in the African continent. He is one of our most accomplished diplomats. We are confident that he will serve the Secretary-General and the United Nations well in that new capacity.

**Mr. Konuzin** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): My delegation, too, would like to express its satisfaction that the Secretary-General came to today's meeting of the Security Council. We are grateful to Mr. Guéhenno, Mr. Ngongi and Mr. Solana for their contributions to the Council's work today. We wish to express particular thanks to Mr. Ngongi. Only a few weeks ago, the members of the Security Council saw him in action. He carried out an enormous amount of positive work, and he deserves the highest praise.

The Russian Federation welcomes the establishment in the Democratic Republic of the Congo of a Transitional Government of national unity. The country has entered upon a new and very important stage of the peace process that began with the 1999 Lusaka Agreement and which acquired a comprehensive nature in the agreements concluded in Sun City and Pretoria. The Government has assumed responsibility towards the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the international community for the restoration of constitutional order to the country. Its work will not be easy. The most important thing is that all political forces that have become part of the Government should be guided solely by comprehensive national interests focused on collaborative efforts to restore the country from its ruins, ashes and isolation. The millions of Congolese lives sacrificed in this conflict requires us to do so.

The country's new leadership will have to draw up a specific programme of action for the transition period. Among the objectives of greatest priority are a timetable for the preparation and holding of elections at various levels, the full restoration of State institutions, the reform of the army and security forces, the establishment of control over natural resources, the rehabilitation of the economy and social life and the restoration of friendly relations with all neighbouring States.

Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) is a separate issue; its successful resolution will determine the fate of the peace process. The Democratic Republic of the Congo is awash in weapons. In the light of that reality, there should be a review of the disarmament programmes. We cannot rely solely on the voluntary handover of weapons; as we see it, participation by the national army in that work would do an enormous service to Congolese society. Naturally, such activity must be monitored by the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) and must be carried out with assistance from donor countries.

My delegation agrees with the view — already expressed here — that it is very important that the international community and the United Nations, including the Security Council, not weaken their support for the transitional structures of the Democratic Republic of the Congo during this historic period for that country. This is dictated by Security Council

decisions and by the recommendations of numerous Council missions to that country and to the region. We also bear our share of responsibility for ensuring the success of the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The Congolese Government has every right to count on our assistance.

Now I should like to say a few words about the situation in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We are grateful to the Government of France, to other States of the European Union and to other countries that have undertaken the dangerous task of stopping the bloodshed in Bunia. We understand that the involvement of the Multinational Forces — given the strict terms for its stay in the Democratic Republic of the Congo — is an emergency measure. Moreover, the Force is not in a position by themselves to ensure security and stability for Ituri in such a brief period of time. The major objective here is to accomplish the timely replacement of the Multinational Force with a strengthened United Nations presence. We need to prevent the emergence of a security vacuum and to ensure a smooth transition in that replacement.

We support the observations and recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's most recent report on MONUC (S/2003/566) aimed at adapting the Mission's mandate to the current reality in the country. We shall be prepared to adopt a draft resolution with new tasks for the United Nations peacekeeping operation in the Congo.

One more important note: atrocious crimes against humanity have been perpetrated in Bunia, in Ituri and in other regions of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The Security Council has not forgotten about them. The criminals must be punished, and they will be punished. Here, we shall not yield.

Finally, I should like to take this opportunity to ask a question of the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, who will speak during today's meeting. International forums, intergovernmental agencies and non-governmental organizations are now undertaking specific efforts to put an end to impunity for mass violations of human rights and of the norms of international humanitarian law — crimes being committed against the Congolese people. Does the Transitional Government of national unity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo intend to undertake national measures to prosecute such criminals? I ask that question because, during the Security Council missions to Central Africa and West Africa, we asked heads of State or Government and leaders of armed groups a similar question. They assured us that they had absolutely nothing to do with those acts and were not participating in them, but they did not always express a readiness to prosecute those crimes and to punish the perpetrators. Therefore, I eagerly await the ambassador's answer.

In conclusion, we should like to note that peace in the Congo depends to a great extent on the regional environment. The success of peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo creates new opportunities for cooperation among the countries in that region of Africa with regard to such critical problems as providing for the security of international borders. Here, too, the United Nations can provide the necessary assistance. The establishment of a transitional Government for the Congo is one of the basic prerequisites for the convening of an international conference on the Great Lakes region. A solution to the problem related to the ceasefire and the conclusion of the transitional period in Burundi must launch such a regional process. The drafting and signing by interested States of a declaration on good-neighbourly relations could become an important foundation for that regional project.

**Sir Jeremy Greenstock** (United Kingdom): We had a telling series of briefings this morning from a very high-grade team, and I should like to thank them for that. It is a great pleasure to see the High Representative for the European Union with us again, giving us an analysis of the situation on the ground on the basis of his recent visit. I think we all have to agree with that analysis; I certainly do.

But, in my introduction, I particularly want to thank Amos Ngongi for the work that he has done in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in an incredibly difficult period over the past two years or more. We have had the same experience in Sierra Leone, where the Security Council and the executive of the United Nations have been involved in turning a country around from a dreadful and — in humanitarian terms — deeply distressing conflict. The path has never been smooth or easy. But he has overseen that transformation on the ground with a team for the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) that, again, deserves tribute in a way which the Security Council should acknowledge

and is, I think, acknowledging this morning. So I thank you, Amos.

That effort by the United Nations is seamless and depends very much on the work of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Headquarters team. Before he leaves the room, I should like to thank the Under-Secretary-General for what he has done in that respect, and to say that that applies to his whole team as well as to him personally. You may now go, Sir.

The analysis we have heard this morning has, I think, rightly focused on the move in the political context. The swearing-in of the four Vice-Presidents of the new national coalition Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo exemplifies what we have been trying to achieve with the implementation of the Lusaka Accord, and the United Kingdom would like to congratulate all those involved.

But primarily, I think, congratulations go to the Congolese people. Those of us who have been on missions to the Democratic Republic of the Congo and to its neighbours have always — in each of the four years that we have been there, and in all the cities beyond Kinshasa and the towns and the villages that we have visited — been struck by the appeal for peace in the eyes of the Congolese people, an appeal to the United Nations and to the international community. I hope that, if this new Government's officials take up their responsibilities with political will, with honour and with honesty, they will repay the Congolese people the time that they have had to wait for peace. I think that that is something that should come out of this meeting, because those 50 million or so Africans who have suffered so much over the past few years will still deserve our help in the coming period. Ituri and Bunia, of course, are a particular part of that. The Multinational Force has made a significant contribution towards improving the security situation in Bunia. I am proud to be a European Union (EU) member in praising the EU for what it has done, and I pay particular tribute to France for its leadership of that.

But we must not allow this intervention to undertake a task that is then jeopardized by allowing a security vacuum to open up after its departure. We need the full deployment of an increased MONUC brigade force, but we need it on time and with the capability to ensure that the gap between the two forces is negligible and that MONUC is visibly as strong as possible from day one. We all understand the threats to both the present and the future force. The Security Council itself has to take the responsibility that that is the case, even if it is the Secretariat that carries out the task. I hope that in the coming days we shall ensure that that happens.

The Union of Congolese Patriots (UPC) under Mr. Lubanga has tested the Interim Emergency Multinational Force. He and they will test MONUC, especially if they believe it to be a vulnerable force. We look forward to discussing further with the Department of Peacekeeping Operations how MONUC is to be configured to deter and deal with a UPC challenge. That is connected with the wider question raised by Mr. Guéhenno and Mr. Ngongi, of what Jean-Marie Guéhenno called the need to end the pervasive culture of war and impunity, which, as Mr. Ngongi said, needs additional action. We have to make sure that those who have committed crimes against the Congolese people are brought to account.

If Ambassador Konuzin had not done so, I would have asked the question — an open question because the Congolese people and Government need our support. Do they wish to start a reconciliation process that involves justice for the victims and therefore prosecution of the worst abuses? Or, if they want to pass it to the international community, are we going to be ready to support the International Criminal Court or any other mechanism, to make sure that those responsible, some of whose names we already know, understand from this meeting — if they have not understood it any earlier — that they will be examined, investigated and brought to a court for their actions during this conflict if they are shown to have abused humanitarian law and human rights norms?

We look forward to adopting soon a draft resolution that increases MONUC's ceiling. The Chapter VII authorization is important. It should help to deter violence, but only if it is credibly embodied on the ground — hence the importance of careful military planning.

Like Germany and others, we support the arms embargo in the draft resolution and would like to see a monitoring panel established to help the Council oversee its implementation.

We have all put our finger on the humanitarian situation. I agree with Mr. Ngongi that the conditions are now more favourable for major relief operations, but they need to be organized by the international

community with the support of the United Nations. Beyond that, I very much agree with the High Representative. We have been here before, but we have never implemented the thought that a regional conference is very necessary to construct the framework for an economic regeneration of the region, which should include structures for maintaining political and security stability. It does need the coherence of the regional leaderships. I am sorry that, up to now, they have not all agreed that a conference would be a good thing. We now think that it would be. I hope that the United Nations will put its weight behind that thought.

Finally, we have heard this morning that what is needed in the Congo is the maintenance of active interest. That certainly goes for the United Kingdom. But I think that the Security Council as a whole intends to maintain its active interest and should take some credit for its persistence in insisting that the Lusaka accord be implemented in full — it is now being implemented through many resolutions and our four missions to the region. I hope that the focus that we have put on this region through our activity will indeed be maintained into the future.

**Mr. Maquieira** (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): At the outset, my delegation wishes to express thanks for the useful and detailed briefing of Mr. Javier Solana, High Representative of the European Union (EU), as well as for the information provided by the Under-Secretary-General of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno, and the additional information provided by Mr. Ngongi.

I wish also to thank the European Union, particularly France, for its generous contribution to the Multinational Force deployed in Bunia and to highlight the dedication and performance of the Uruguayan contingent in very difficult circumstances.

During the past year, with the exception of the north-eastern part of the country, we have seen significant progress, particularly the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the political agreement achieved between the various conflicting factions, which made it possible to develop the All-Inclusive Agreement on the Transition in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

We are pleased to note the promulgation of the Transitional Constitution of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the recent formation of the Government of National Unity, which brings together representatives of all sectors and factions that until recently were in open conflict. That is a remarkable development.

The first steps, which are always the most difficult, have been taken. But we should not underestimate the enormous difficulties still before the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

It is now incumbent on the Government to pursue its goals of re-establishing security and sovereignty throughout the country and to reform the armed forces, the police and the judiciary. In this difficult process, the Democratic Republic of the Congo must be able to rely on the support of the international community, and particularly the support of the countries of the region, especially the neighbouring ones.

Notwithstanding those advances, the situation in the Kivu and Ituri districts is still marked by suffering and grave human rights violations committed by various rebel factions. My country categorically condemns the acts of violence, assassinations and other such crimes being perpetrated in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, particularly against the civilian police. Those acts must not go unpunished, and their perpetrators must ultimately answer for them. I support what the representative of the Russian Federation and Ambassador Greenstock of the United Kingdom have said recently in that regard. This is a challenge for the entire international community, but especially for the Congolese people and particularly the Transitional Government.

At the same time, we would like to reiterate our concern at the humanitarian situation in Bunia and the surrounding areas. We call on the parties involved to provide full and free access to all humanitarian agencies and personnel, particularly in Bunia and Ituri. I cannot miss the opportunity to make a personal comment although I know it is inappropriate. When we were in Bunia with the Security Council's mission to Central Africa, we were very struck by what we saw. When we speak of Bunia we always think of child soldiers, of the terrorized population, of the atrocities that have been committed, but less is said of the courage of certain people in Bunia.

I think it is right for us to pay tribute to Pétronille Vaweka, mother of five and President of the Special

Interim Assembly. We should pay tribute to her courage and dedication in very difficult circumstances.

Let me conclude by saying that it is vital for the draft resolution authorizing a new mandate for the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) to be finished expeditiously, to give it a robust mandate under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, which is essential to protect civilian populations and military personnel that are subject to danger and threat.

The Security Council must, in the most affected areas, ensure that it acts as a bridge with the multinational force now in Bunia. My delegation will join in supporting that resolution. We would support the idea of including an arms embargo and we stress the need for a regional conference that would make it possible to bring together not only what is being done in the Congo, but all the work that is taking place in the region, and to develop a strategy for the economic and social development of this part of Africa.

I cannot conclude without paying particular tribute to the former Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mr. Namanga Ngongi, for his valuable and devoted contribution to the peace process. Perhaps, for a delegation which only recently joined the Council, I might thank him for his kindness and patience towards some of us, on some occasions. I hope he will have every future success in his personal and professional life.

Lastly, I would like to welcome the appointment of Mr. Swing as his replacement and we wish him every success.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I now call on the Representative of Cameroon.

**Mr. Belinga-Eboutou** (Cameroon) *(spoke in French)*: Allow me first to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his presence at the beginning of this meeting devoted to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. For the Congolese people who are following our discussion, his presence is a reassuring testimony to his personal commitment, and the commitment of the United Nations, to the establishment of peace and stability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Like earlier speakers, I wish to welcome in our midst today Mr. Javier Solana, the Secretary-General of the Council of the European Union, High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy. His detailed and instructive statement enabled us to come to further conclusions deriving from his recent visit to the Great Lakes region, conclusions which can serve as guidelines and signposts for the future work of the Council.

I wish also to thank Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno and Mr. Amos Namanga Ngongi for their briefings on current developments in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

There is no question that the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is a challenge to us all, to the international community, to Africa, and to the Congolese themselves. The Congolese people want peace, development and to benefit from their vast natural resources. Sadly, since independence, the history of the Congo has been marked by situations and crises which have constantly undermined this profound hope.

All the major actors on the political scene in the country consequently have the pressing task of realizing and living up to the hopes placed in them by their compatriots who are caught up in a whirlwind of violence, plunged into lassitude and gripped by unspeakable poverty.

It is now incumbent upon them to choose, the paths of dialogue and consultation rather than the language of weapons, which has already proven its limitations.

From this point of view, my delegation welcomes the recent political developments in the Democratic Republic of the Congo which became possible upon the signing, on 17 December 2002, in Pretoria, of the global and all-inclusive transition agreement and then, on 2 April 2003, in Sun City, the final act of the inter-Congolese political negotiations. The signing of these acts by the various parties to the conflict marked the advent of a new age for the Congolese people, an age conducive to sustainable economic and social development based on peace and stability.

With this purpose in mind, the promulgation of the transitional constitution on 7 April 2003, the signing by the Congolese parties of the Memorandum on the army and security on 29 June 2003, and the establishment of the Government of National Unity and transition in the Democratic Republic of the Congo on

30 June 2003, are, without question, significant milestones in achieving these objectives.

We welcome the setting up of the Government of National Unity and transition in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and in particular, the swearing-in yesterday, 17 July 2003, in Kinshasa, of the four vice presidents: Yerodia Abdoulaye Ndombasi, Jean-Pierre Bemba, Arthur Z'Ahidi Ngoma and Azarius Ruberwa.

I take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to Amos Ngongi Namanga, who has brought devotion, skill and personal commitment to the cause of peace in that fraternal country and has thus made a significant contribution to the advent of this decisive stage in the history of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

We note with particular satisfaction that the swearing in of the four vice presidents took place in the presence of the President, in Kinshasa, and to the acclaim of the Congolese people, who were relieved and reassured by this development.

The fact that certain members of the Government have still not been sworn in, is an indication of the volatility and mistrust that still mark the political climate in Congo.

Mr. Solana has already spoken to us of the state of ambiguity deliberately maintained by certain factions. We are convinced this is the last manifestation of that situation and is only an isolated incident, because we are aware of the patriotism of our Congolese brothers. We know that the parties taking part in the Government of National Unity and transition clearly grasp the historic importance of the process in which they are engaged.

For its part, the international community, while lending its full support to this process, is monitoring the Congolese parties vigilantly. In that connection, Cameroon would like to commend the European Union, and France in particular, for the quality and effectiveness of their efforts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in recent weeks.

Operation Artemis, which was authorized by resolution 1484 (2003), has made it possible for Bunia and the district of Ituri to be liberated from their nightmare to once again become liveable places. Evidence of that is provided by the return of a significant number of refugees — to date numbering over 8,000 — who had fled the fighting.

The deployment of the Interim Emergency Multinational Force is a clear example of what the international community can and should do to help contain a conflict and to limit its humanitarian consequences as well as all types of violations of human rights. It is now important that the handover with the Force, set to take place on 1 September, be carried out in a diligent and orderly manner, so that the advances made by Operation Artemis in the area of security can be sustained. In that connection, the arrival early this week of the first Bangladeshi elements of the Ituri brigade is a positive sign that gives us cause to hope that there will not be a security vacuum in Ituri.

As Mr. Solana stressed earlier, the force that will take over from Operation Artemis must be given a robust mandate so that it can act as effectively as possible in emergency situations on the ground. In addition, such a mandate would have the advantage of being a deterrent in itself. The Secretary-General had suggested that option to the members of the Council. My country supported that option straightaway — and with good reason. Cameroon has always advocated establishing the mandate of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) under Chapter VII of the Charter. We welcome the fact that consensus in the Council has finally emerged in that regard. That will make it possible for MONUC to effectively play the role expected of it by the Congolese people.

The deployment of MONUC under a strengthened mandate will, among other things, make it possible to effectively address the peace process in Ituri, the Kivu provinces and Kinshasa. In Ituri in particular there is an urgent need to support the Interim Administration, which is experiencing difficulties in enforcing its authority. MONUC will be able to support it by, among other things, by strengthening police capacities. In North and South Kivu, MONUC will need to monitor, and work hand in hand with, the verification mission established following the signing on 19 June at Bujumbura of the Act of Engagement for the Cessation of Hostilities between the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie-Kisangani/Mouvement de libération (RCD-K/ML) and RCD-Goma, and

following the meeting that took place between those parties at Beni on 26 June.

It appears that consensus is also emerging in the Council concerning the establishment of an arms embargo on the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. MONUC will also be called upon to implement that measure.

It must be acknowledged that the efforts of the Congolese people and the international community to reach political consensus and to restore security in the Democratic Republic of the Congo will be successful only when neighbouring States actively and unreservedly commit themselves to peace in that country, as well as in the Great Lakes region in general. With respect to the behaviour expected of those States, it is all of Africa that is involved. Accordingly, we urge them to fully respect the principles of international law set out in the Charter of the United Nations. We also call upon them to exert their influence upon the Congolese movements close to them so that the latter will continue to be positively engaged in the transition process that has now begun.

In a 1996 joint communiqué signed by the then Secretary-General, President Paul Biya of Cameroon called for the convening of a conference on the Great Lakes region aimed at finding a solution to the crisis that was then beginning. We continue to believe that the holding of such a conference would greatly contribute to improving relations among those States and make possible the establishment of an environment conducive to trade and prosperity based on trust and solidarity.

Beyond peace lies development. The European Union has led the way in the area of development by providing the new transitional authorities financial assistance as part of a rehabilitation programme for the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In addition, the United Nations initiative in Ituri aimed at coordinating the activities of its agencies and their partners in the area of humanitarian assistance is part of the same pattern. This will enable all potential donors active in the region to develop their assistance through the Ituri Administration. We strongly encourage such contributions, and we appeal to the donor community to provide the new authorities in Kinshasa with increased support for their economic recovery efforts.

It cannot be said enough: in order to help the Congolese people to build upon the peace process and bring about national reconciliation, the international community must resolutely aid that people in the urgent and difficult task of rebuilding the country. That is why Cameroon proposes that development issues be decisively included in MONUC's mandate and that a post of assistant special representative responsible for such issues be created in the context of that Mission. It should be recalled that such a post exists in the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone. Making economic issues part of United Nations missions is so essential that the recently concluded Security Council mission to West Africa proposed establishing in Liberia the post of assistant special representative responsible for economic issues. Cameroon believes that this is not a matter of merely establishing a new post; it is an issue of involving MONUC in the necessary harmonization and coordination of development strategies. Bearing in mind the key role played by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in that regard, as we understand it, the UNDP Resident Representative and Coordinator of the United Nations system might also hold the post of assistant special representative of the Secretary-General in charge of development issues.

I would like to conclude by recalling the conclusions of our public meeting held last week on respect for human rights in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I would like once again to reiterate the need for better respect of human rights in the Democratic Republic of the Congo now that transition is on track. We cannot decry enough the massive violations of human rights that have taken place during the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and especially in Ituri. The issue of child soldiers should be given particular attention by both the transitional authorities and the international community in order that steps be taken to end that practice. More generally speaking, impunity must be confronted.

**Mr. Zhang** Yishan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I would like first of all to thank Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno and former Special Representative of the Secretary-General Ngongi for their respective briefings.

The Security Council has held two public meetings this month on the question of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This is clear evidence that the Security Council and the parties concerned attach great importance to the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank Mr. Ngongi for the efforts he has made over the past two years at the head of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) to advance the peace process in that country.

In June I took part in the Council's mission to Central Africa and was a witness to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo as well as to the poverty in Ituri and Bunia. As a result, I understand better the difficult circumstances in which Mr. Ngongi has been working and the contributions he has made to the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

I wish also to express my congratulations to Mr. Ngongi, because, as he was leaving, the Transitional Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo was established. I believe that this represents the best possible culmination of his two years in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I wish him every success in his new capacity.

I wish also to express my appreciation to the European Union-led Interim Emergency Multinational Force for its efforts to stabilize the situation in Bunia.

The situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has been an ongoing source of concern for China. We are pleased to note that in the past several months significant progress has been made in the peace process in that country. In early April, the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the parties concerned reached agreement on transitional arrangements. President Kabila was later sworn in as the head of the Transitional Government. On 30 June the Transitional Government was formally established, and yesterday four Vice-Presidents were sworn in.

All of these events are testimony to the fact that the various parties in the Democratic Republic of the Congo have gradually moved onto the path of political reconciliation, peace and national unity. We have always believed that the fundamental resolution of the question of the Democratic Republic of the Congo depends on the efforts of the Congolese people themselves. We sincerely hope that the various parties in that country will proceed on the basis of the long-term and fundamental interests of the people and that they will seek common ground while putting aside their differences and working in a spirit of national reconciliation and mutual understanding. We hope that they will implement the agreements in good faith so as to promote the peace process.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo has a vast territory and a wealth of natural resources. We sincerely hope that the various parties in that country will put aside past differences and work jointly, in a harmonious and cooperative manner, to bring the Democratic Republic of the Congo into a new era of peace, stability, prosperity and development.

The peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is at a crucial stage. The international community must increase its political, economic and financial contributions to it so that the Transitional Government can receive the necessary support.

China supports the idea that, as a result of the latest development, the mandate and size of MONUC should be adjusted. We support the adoption by the Council of a draft resolution on this issue at an early date. We hope that an expanded and modified MONUC will make further positive contributions to the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

At the recently concluded second summit of the African Union, the African States reached a broad consensus on the integration of the African Union and the prevention and settlement of regional conflicts in Africa. They also put forward many practical measures. These will help to create a sound external environment for the settlement of conflict in Africa, including that in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

We are convinced that, with the strong support of the international community and joint efforts on the part of the African countries and peoples, conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in Africa at large will be resolved fully and at an early date. The Chinese Government has always fully promoted the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We have contributed military observers, military engineers and medical teams to MONUC, and we have also participated in the international committee in support of the transition in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I wish to reiterate here that China, will, as always, work with all the parties concerned to play a constructive role in the political resolution of the issue of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

**Mr. Mekdad** (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): We would like to thank you, Mr. President, for

having convened this meeting to discuss the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We are pleased to express to Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, our gratitude for his briefing, in which he contributed very important information concerning recent developments in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I would also like to extend to Mr. Ngongi, the former Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, our deepest appreciation for the efforts over the past two years to bring about peace and security in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I would like to associate myself with the words of gratitude that you, Mr. President, expressed on behalf of the Council for the success that he has achieved.

We are especially pleased to welcome the presence of Mr. Javier Solana, Secretary-General and High Representative for Common Policy and Security Policy of the European Union, and we would like to express to the European Union and to him, personally, our gratitude for the efforts made to bring about peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and other important areas of the world.

Little time elapsed between visits of the Security Council mission to Central Africa and of Mr. Solana to the same region. The views expressed earlier by Mr. Solana with regard to achieving a final settlement of the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo were very similar to the Security Council mission's conclusions. The intervention of the European Force in order to put an end to the killings in Bunia represents a new stage in promoting the pacification of the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We would like to express our gratitude in particular for the role of France in this area.

We should not forget the efforts made by the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), and the Uruguayan contingent in particular, in taking up important responsibilities at a very difficult period. We wish the Bangladesh contingent, whose main forces have begun to reach Ituri, every success in undertaking its responsibilities.

Syria agrees with the Security Council's proposals and recommendations to strengthen MONUC. We support the draft resolution prepared by the Council, and look forward to adopting it as soon as possible so that a modified, strengthened MONUC can continue its work in support of the peace process and prevent it from being reversed and put an end to the actions of those factions that are trying to kill innocent children or use them as soldiers — a matter that is not admissible under international humanitarian law. Along with other members of the Council, we reaffirm that those who have perpetrated massacres and violated humanitarian laws will be punished.

The Syrian delegation welcomes the formation of a Transitional Government of national unity, which will lead the country to democratic elections, put an end to the conflict and set the country on the road to peace and development, for the benefit of a people who have so greatly suffered. We hope that the National Observatory for Human Rights and the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission will begin their work as soon as possible to unify the position of the entire Congolese people in order to preserve the welfare of the country.

The Security Council has on previous occasions underlined the positive and decisive role that countries neighbouring the Democratic Republic of the Congo can play in promoting the peace process and ensuring its success; Syria reaffirms that role.

In his statement on behalf of the European Union, Mr. Solano expressed a number of views and criteria that would ensure an end to massacres and war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. He indicated several responsibilities to be shouldered by the European Union to promote national reconciliation and development in that country. Syria welcomes all the steps that the European Union will undertake or has already undertaken. I thank the European Union for its interest and its continuous follow-up of the situation in that country.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo is passing through a historic stage, moving from violence and conflict to peace and security, from destruction and chaos to reconstruction, justice and respect for human rights. We are fully confident that the international community and the United Nations, including the Security Council, will support the people of that country in the final stage of their journey towards a brighter future.

**Mr. Akram** (Pakistan): I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for organizing this very important meeting on the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We

are grateful to Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno for his briefing. Like others, I wish to thank Mr. Ngongi for his presence here and for his briefing. I take this opportunity to express our sincere appreciation for his recent role as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of the Congo; we wish him well in the future. We also welcome the appointment of Mr. William Swing as the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General. It is a pleasure to welcome Mr. Javier Solana to the Chamber. We thank him for his briefing on his recent visit to the region. We welcome the commitment of the European Union to the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has been long and bloody. It has claimed the lives of an estimated 3 million people. Millions have been rendered homeless and destitute. That conflict has rightly been called the greatest tragedy of our times. The crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is a complex one and is compounded by competing political domestic and foreign agendas, inter-ethnic rivalry and hatred and the rampant and illegal exploitation of the rich natural resources of that large and strategic country. While the war has not produced any clear victors, millions of innocent civilians in the Congo have clearly become its victims. It is they who have suffered and continue to suffer as long as the conflict continues.

This month we witnessed the first real sign of hope with the inauguration of the Transitional Government of national unity. We hope that this is the culmination of a long and painstaking process of negotiations. It is, indeed, a bold step taken by all those who have chosen to participate in it, and we hope that all will participate in it.

Pakistan hopes that the formation of this Government will not only open the way to real political reform in the country but also bring to an end the conflict and fighting that has ravaged the eastern parts of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is now the responsibility of those who have agreed to share power to do their utmost to end the fighting and to peacefully resolve the issues which underlie the conflict.

In addition to making peace at the national level, there is need to support peace at the local level, especially through the Ituri Pacification Commission, and to support the process of disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and, where appropriate, resettlement or repatriation of combatants in the provinces of North and South Kivu. It is necessary to support those peace initiatives through the provision of appropriate security. The presence of a robust peacekeeping force is necessary to create the political space for the peace process to take root and sustain itself. We welcome the deployment in Bunia of the Interim Emergency Multinational Force under French leadership. That temporary arrangement should be replaced with a more sustainable force, and in good time. My delegation supports the expansion of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) to a ceiling of 10,800 troops, Chapter VII cover for Ituri and, if required, for the Kivus, and the presence of a brigade-size force in Ituri, with a clear, realistic and robust mandate. We support the draft resolution on the Democratic Republic of the Congo that is close to finalization, which includes all those elements.

The expanded presence of MONUC must be accompanied by a strong message to the warring factions and those who back them that further hostilities, which undermine the peace process, will no longer be tolerated. In that regard, my delegation supports the imposition of an arms embargo on all the warring parties. However, in doing so, we urge the Council to make this embargo credible, effective and implementable. If we do not do so, the very unworkability of the arms embargo will undermine the Council's credibility in the future. An appropriate mechanism, therefore, should be set up to monitor and implement such an arms embargo.

In making the arms embargo more effective, the Council must consider ways and means to track the illegal exploitation of resources to the sources of the funds, as well as to the points where those resources and funds are converted into arms. It is at those source points that the embargo should be designed to be most effective. The Pakistan delegation will revert to this point in the near future.

For durable peace, the countries in the region must support the peace process and refrain from contributing in any way to the continuation of hostilities. Pakistan fully supports the convening of a regional conference to promote peace, security and development. We also support calls for the conclusion of agreements on good-neighbourly relations between

the Democratic Republic of the Congo and its various neighbours. It goes without saying that peace in the region would immeasurably help peace in the country. Improvement in socio-economic conditions through, inter alia, international assistance, would help considerably to establish peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The improvement of socio-economic conditions is also essential for sustainable peace there and in the region.

Finally, the humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is an integral, not a subsidiary or auxiliary, part of the conflict. The humanitarian plight of the common people in the war zones of the Democratic Republic of the Congo is truly heart-rending. They have suffered previously. Their suffering is a blot on the collective conscience of humanity. These crimes bring to mind the telling remark of Joseph Conrad in his memorable novel set in the Congo 100 years ago, *The Heart of Darkness*. He wrote: "The belief in a supernatural source of evil is not necessary; men alone are quite capable of every wickedness."

The culture of impunity, which has prevailed in the Democratic Republic of the Congo thus far, must come to an end. There can be no genuine peace without justice. The crimes committed must be punished. That should be done either through existing mechanisms or through specially created mechanisms, as in Rwanda. Pakistan remains ready — both in its capacity as a member of the Council and as a major contributor of United Nations peacekeeping forces — to support all possible efforts on the part of the United Nations and the international community to restore peace and justice in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

**Mr. Tafrov** (Bulgaria) (*spoke in French*): At the outset, I should like to wish a warm welcome to Mr. Javier Solana, High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union, at the Council table. As a country associated with the European Union, Bulgaria fully associates itself with his statement. On a more personal note, I should like to say that today, it is even more of a pleasure than usual to associate myself with a common statement of the European Union, because, among other things, the sending of the multinational Force to Bunia is one of the European Union's most courageous actions with regard to foreign policy beyond the European continent.

In Mr. Solana's comments, I noted a genuine pride; I believe that it is very well founded. This action was obviously made possible, above all, by the extremely courageous decision of the French authorities. I must thank France for what it has done in Bunia. I participated in the Security Council mission to Bunia, and I must say that what has been accomplished by General Tonier, the officers of his staff, his soldiers and the representatives of the other countries participating in the Force — there are also non-European countries — deserves not only to be welcomed but also to be highlighted, since this is a decision that is fully in keeping with European and global public opinion regarding the intolerable horrors that took place in Ituri. I believe that it is a good example of the sometimes positive aspects of globalization, because public opinion can take the lead, and influence decision makers fairly rapidly, as is the case here. I believe that the decision on Bunia also made it possible for the political process in the Congo to make important progress.

If today we are celebrating the establishment of the national transitional Government in Kinshasa, it is because of the fact that the international community — particularly by sending the contingent to Bunia — has made it clear, first of all to the Congolese themselves, but also to the countries of the region, that its commitment to the Congo is for the long term and is very strong. I believe that the Security Council is fully playing its role here and should continue to do so in the future.

From that perspective, the draft resolution elaborated by the Security Council for a strengthened and extended mandate for the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) is a very positive and important development that Bulgaria has supported. We hope that the draft resolution is adopted as quickly as possible. In particular, we welcome the fact that it provides for the imposition of an arms embargo on the eastern part of the Congo. We also believe that a monitoring mechanism should eventually be established and that sanctions should be provided for those who violate the embargo.

I shall not speak at length about what the transitional Government should do. The task that faces it is immense. I should like to say only that one of the most important tasks is undoubtedly the organization of

free and transparent elections at all levels and throughout the country's territory.

But I should like to dwell on an issue that, I believe, is of concern today to all speakers around this table: the issue of impunity. Bulgaria has always favoured respect for the principle of responsibility for actions committed, whether in the African Great Lakes region, in Sierra Leone, in Timor-Leste or, obviously, in the Balkans. It is fundamental for the future, not only of the Congo itself, but also of the rest of Africa, that the international community do everything possible to ensure that that principle is respected. Unfortunately, we do not forget that the Congolese conflict, because of its length, the ferocity of the warlords and the size of the country itself, has caused violations of human rights and of international humanitarian law to take on proportions that challenge the universal conscience and cannot be ignored.

Clearly, a question arises, as in so many situations of this type: how do we express the international community's support to the Congolese people along with the imperative need for the effective pursuit of the principle of non-impunity? The answers are not obvious or easy, but one thing is sure: the Security Council must be provided with the means — including the legal means — to implement that principle. From that perspective, the statements made by Mr. Moreno Ocampo, Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, are very encouraging, and Bulgaria welcomes them.

I would like to conclude my comments by expressing Bulgaria's gratitude to Mr. Ngongi, the former Special Representative of the Secretary-General. We are grateful to him for the outstanding work he has done in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and for his energy and dedication in extremely difficult circumstances. We would also like to welcome Ambassador Swing, who is making his diplomatic talent available to the United Nations. We would also like to thank the Department of Peacekeeping Operations for its professionalism in its management of the Congolese issue, which is one of the most difficult issues facing it. We would also like to thank Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno personally for his own involvement in this issue.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Spain.

We thank Mr. Guéhenno, Mr. Ngongi and Mr. Solana for their briefings. We believe that the peace process is at a crucial stage, and we welcome the fact that the timetable deadlines for the entry into force of the Government and the establishment of transitional institutions have been met.

The swearing-in of the four Vice-Presidents means that the Democratic Republic of the Congo has entered a new phase and, therefore, we urge the Transitional Government to work resolutely for national reconciliation.

Spain welcomes the efforts made by the outgoing Government of Joseph Kabila to achieve a compromise formula to appoint the new leader of the national armed forces. We believe that the current attitudes of the Governments of Uganda and Rwanda with regard to deterring their groups in the country from further violence is the right path in order to make progress in the peace process. In that connection, we value greatly the visit of the High Representative, Mr. Javier Solana, to the region.

At the same time, the situation in the eastern part is still cause for concern. Following the commendable activities of the Uruguayan contingent, we welcome the fact that the deployment of the Artemis Operation has been concluded, that the process of demilitarizing Bunia has begun, and that the objectives entrusted to the European Union (EU) to stabilize the political and humanitarian situation are being achieved despite conditions that are dangerous to the troops involved.

The steps taken for the operation to be taken over by the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) have also been positive. That takeover will have to be carried out seamlessly in order to avoid a security vacuum. On the other hand, we must make all efforts to strengthen the political settlement to the conflict in Ituri and to support the expeditious establishment of the interim administration in Ituri.

I shall now resume my function as President of the Council.

I call on the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

**Mr. Ileka** (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (*spoke in French*): Allow us, at the outset, to thank you, Mr. President, for having kindly convened this important meeting of the Security Council on the

situation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We wish to welcome Mr. Javier Solana, High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union (EU), and to express to him our appreciation for his comprehensive statement made following his visit to the region. We have also followed with great interest the contributions to today's discussions of Mr. Guéhenno and Mr. Ngongi, who have accurately described the reality in the field.

Before continuing with my statement, allow me to tell the Secretary-General that the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo will have the opportunity in due course to thank him for his appointment of Ambassador William Lacey Swing his Special Representative to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. For us, the Congolese, Ambassador Swing is a well-known individual who needs no special introduction.

Today we would like to pay a heartfelt tribute to our brother, Amos Namanga Ngongi of Cameroon, for his outstanding work. Under his mandate, the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) has worked for the cause of peace and the restoration of dignity for the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It has concluded phase II of its operations and has contributed, as was well emphasized by the Secretary-General, to the recent progress made in the peace process, which has entered a new phase, particularly with the establishment of the Transitional Government of National Unity and the upcoming establishment of other republican and public institutions provided by the All-Inclusive Agreement on The Transition in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We would like to ask Mr. Amos Ngongi to continue to turn his thoughts towards the people of the Congo, whom he has adopted and sustained during the two years of his mandate. We wish him every success in his new post.

Hope has emerged in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, but concerns still exist. The transitional period, which is to conclude with free and transparent elections, will not be easy. It should be supported, because otherwise the result might be the collapse of the entire structure that the Security Council has patiently constructed over the years in partnership with the Congo, the countries of the region and interested countries. The efforts of the Interim Emergency Multinational Force, which has succeeded in stabilizing the security and humanitarian situation in Bunia and the surrounding territory, would be futile if the Bangladesh contingent, which has begun its deployment, did not have, as we reiterated this morning, an adequate mandate and rules of engagement, as well as an overall strategy aimed at restoring lasting peace in the Ituri district.

It is correct that the return to normality in the Democratic Republic of the Congo depends primarily on the Congolese themselves, whose leaders must demonstrate self-sacrifice and patriotism. To that end, the President of the Republic, His Excellency Major General Joseph Kabila, has provided full assurance that difficulties will be overcome and that the window of opportunity open for peace will not be closed, so that the transition can continue to make unimpeded progress.

The international community, particularly the Security Council, must therefore build on this transition period. The Council must provide positive follow-up to the recommendations put forward by the Secretary-General in his second special report on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), particularly by adapting the latter's mandate to allow it not only to build on the achievements of the Multinational Force, but to transform itself into a vast multidisciplinary operation for peacekeeping operating throughout the entire national territory.

The international community must continue to provide assistance to the Transitional Government of National Unity, particularly in implementing the Transitional Constitution, the reform of the national army and the police, the preparation and holding of elections and the furthering of good governance and development in order to enable the Congo population to specifically benefit from the peace dividend.

The international community must also tackle factors of instability; namely, the illegal exploitation of natural resources and other forms of wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the illegal arms trafficking in the region that fuels the war of aggression. These activities must be terminated.

Regarding disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation programmes, these must be rethought and resolutely applied, on one hand, to all Congolese nationals beyond the law and, on the other hand, to all foreigners operating within armed groups, regardless of their country of origin. The peace process

in the Democratic Republic of the Congo can be concluded only if the democratic transition processes under way in the other countries of the Great Lakes region also progress. In that same vein, there is a need to follow very closely the elections which will be held in a few weeks in Rwanda. It is our most ardent hope that the new leadership Rwanda will acquire following these elections, which we hope will be free and democratic, will have the political courage to work to achieve the necessary national harmony in that country in order to contribute fully and positively to the stabilization of the Great Lakes region.

The restoration of relations of confidence is therefore an absolute necessity. In Kinshasa we noted that Mr. Javier Solana, the High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union, has supported the establishment of an institution for collective security in the Great Lakes region, which actually had existed recently.

It would therefore be advantageous to revisit the idea of the now-defunct Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries (CEPGL). Its lofty objectives were, first, to ensure the security of States and their peoples, so that nothing would disrupt order and tranquillity; secondly, to conceptualize, define and promote the establishment and development of economic activities based upon shared interests; and finally, to advance and intensify trade relations and the movement of individuals and goods.

We reiterate that for historical reasons, the core of the CEPGL should be made up of former Belgian colonies. However, there would be nothing to prevent the new CEPGL from being expanded to other countries such as Uganda and Tanzania, whose interests are inextricably linked to those of the countries of the Great Lakes region.

Efforts to establish such an institution should not overshadow the fact that the countries of Central Africa and the Great Lakes region all have subscribed to the idea of discussing the future of their relations through an international conference on peace, stability, security and development, which they all fervently desire.

Allow us, before we conclude, to quickly touch on some issues which seem to us of the greatest importance.

Regarding human rights, I take this opportunity to try to provide at least a few elements in answer to the question raised by the representatives of the Russian Federation and of the United Kingdom. It is clearly imperative that justice be provided for the Congolese people who have been the victims of numerous atrocities — atrocities that still continue within the national territory of the country.

As the head of State, Major-General Joseph Kabila, has stated, our determination to unify the country by overcoming artificial differences cannot, however, sidestep justice, which will promote a lasting reconciliation. Justice — independent and equal for all — must play its full role in ending, once and for all, impunity, which continues to incite anti-social behaviour, and must also provide for legal redress for the victims.

The urgent need to provide the Democratic Republic of the Congo with solid national institutions for the protection of human rights and with an adequate institutional framework in which criminals will be held responsible for their acts prompts us to request the support of the entire international community for the rapid establishment and early functioning of the national Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the National Observatory for Human Rights, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Global and All-inclusive Agreement on the Transition in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

We remain convinced that the question of impunity will be among the priorities of the Transitional Government of National Unity, whose first meeting is planned for tomorrow, Saturday, 19 July 2003, and which in early August will present its programme of work before the transitional parliament.

With regard to the humanitarian situation in the areas affected by conflict, the lack of access to populations in need and the lack of security created by the activities of the parties to the conflicts has always been the main obstacle to large-scale humanitarian activity.

Now that the various parties to the conflict are all working for the reunification of the country within the Transitional Government of National Unity, there is an imperative need for all means to be implemented to ensure unimpeded access to those areas which were previously inaccessible, and to facilitate the distribution of humanitarian assistance to those areas in need.

As for the specific situation of Ituri, we support and encourage the implementation of the strategy for Ituri — developed by MONUC and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, in cooperation with the United Nations Development Programme, the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and the humanitarian agencies — in order to guide and coordinate the activities of the United Nations agencies and their partners by concentrating, first of all, on the delivery of humanitarian assistance in Bunia.

Finally, regarding the protection of children, the images of Bunia displayed by the media are odious. Children represent a category of vulnerable individuals, and their presence in fighting forces is of the greatest concern to us, as is demonstrated by the legal framework now in effect.

The Democratic Republic of Congo commits itself to strictly implementing the provisions of Law Decree No. 066 of 9 June 2000, regarding the demobilization and reintegration of vulnerable groups. That law lays down an unequivocal and strict ban on the recruitment of children and reflects the will and determination of the Government to ensure harmonization between the Congolese legal system and the international legal system concerning human rights.

The national programme for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of child soldiers must be accelerated, given the large number of child soldiers who remain on the front lines and in military camps throughout the national territory. We call on the international community to support this programme.

In conclusion, the Democratic Republic of the Congo would like to express its deep gratitude to the international community, in particular to the European Union and to France, which has been playing a leading role within the Multinational Force, for their unswerving commitment to peace in the Congo.

We also take advantage of this opportunity once again to reassure all of our partners, in particular our brothers from neighbouring countries, as to our keen desire to live in harmony with everyone in a spirit of tolerance, solidarity and open cooperation.

The internal process of reconciliation and national harmony, as well as improved prospects for peace in the Great Lakes region, allow us to envisage with much more equanimity the advent of a region of greater peace, security, justice and prosperity.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I appeal to representatives who have yet to take the floor kindly to be as brief as possible. There are nine speakers left. If we proceed quickly, we may be able to finish this morning, as we had hoped. Otherwise we may have to suspend and return at 3.15 p.m. Once again I urge delegations who have yet to take the floor to be brief.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of South Africa, I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

**Mr. Maitland** (South Africa): At the outset, I would like to extend my delegation's congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July.

We would like to thank the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno, for his briefing. We also extend our gratitude to Mr. Javier Solana for his briefing on the European Union's efforts to support the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I wish further to convey South Africa's profound gratitude to Mr. Amos Namanga Ngongi, the former Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, for his dedicated leadership of the work of the United Nations in that country.

This meeting is indeed timely, as it coincides with important developments in the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In that regard, South Africa congratulates the Congolese parties on their efforts to implement the Global and All-inclusive Agreement, and in particular on the establishment of the transitional institutions. We welcome the formation of the Transitional Government, which we view as a crucial first step towards achieving lasting peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. South Africa is honoured to have been able to assist in that process, and it remains ready to continue to do so. We urge all stakeholders in the peace process to continue to observe and implement the agreements they have signed. There is no turning back. The strategy of talking peace and waging war at the same time must be abandoned.

Today's public meeting also coincides with the Council's ongoing discussions on strengthening and adjusting the mandate of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) in the light of new

developments. Indeed, the grave security and humanitarian situation in Ituri province obliges the Security Council to give serious consideration to proposals to strengthen MONUC's military presence in that part of the country. In addition to strengthening the numbers and capabilities of MONUC's forces, South Africa believes that the operation should be equipped with a Chapter VII mandate so that it can effectively carry out the tasks assigned to it. In that regard, the protection of civilians under imminent threat of armed attack should receive special emphasis.

As the report of the Council's recent mission to Central Africa (S/2003/653) correctly points out, the departure of the Interim Emergency Multinational Force, which was dispatched under Chapter VII of the Charter, and the imminent deployment of MONUC's second task force to Ituri raise important questions with respect to the congruence of their two mandates. We hope that the Security Council will take a decision on this matter as soon as possible, in order to allow potential troop-contributing countries sufficient time to prepare their forces for the tasks at hand.

While promoting a more robust mandate for MONUC, we would be remiss not to stress the responsibility of all Congolese stakeholders to ensure the protection and promotion of human rights in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. That is essential to creating an environment conducive to the establishment of lasting peace and reconciliation.

We concur with the Secretary-General's assessment that there is a need to examine the role of MONUC and other United Nations system partners in the light of the new political developments. South Africa therefore welcomes the recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's second special report (S/2003/566), which proposes a more comprehensive approach to support the transitional phase in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Of particular importance to South Africa is the need to support the security arrangements for the Transitional Government in Kinshasa, as well as the work of the Ituri interim administration. The new political developments afford all stakeholders the opportunity to rejuvenate the process of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

In conclusion, we would like to reiterate South Africa's commitment to stay the course with the Congolese people as they work to implement all agreements. Accordingly, our engagement with the Democratic Republic of the Congo did not end with the signing of the Final Act at Sun City. The recent success in the peace process provides real opportunities to commence the urgent task of economic reconstruction in the country. The support of the international community in that task is of critical importance. South Africa stands ready to make its contribution to the efforts of the Congolese people to achieve peace and prosperity in their country.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Bangladesh. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

**Mr. Chowdhury** (Bangladesh): Bangladesh congratulates you most warmly, Mr. President, on your skilful conduct of the presidency of the Council. Plaudits are also owed to Ambassador Sergey Lavrov for Russia's astute leadership of this forum during the month of June. The presence here today of Mr. Javier Solana, Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno and Mr. Amos Namanga Ngongi lends special significance to these proceedings. I thank them for their important briefings. We also congratulate Ambassador Swing on his appointment, and we wish him every success.

The recent waves of violence in eastern Congo have deeply shocked the international community. Despite the Council's many calls, the fragile peace continues to remain threatened. The conflict, apart from wreaking havoc in the form of death and destruction, has displaced an enormous number of people from their homes. An acute humanitarian crisis has thereby been created. The gross violations of human rights that have been perpetrated there with impunity are odious. They undermine all the universal values that we hold so dear. Bangladesh, along with others, is profoundly concerned.

The Council is to be commended for its timely action in authorizing the Interim Emergency Multinational Force (IEMF). France deserves the highest praise for having led it so effectively. We applaud the European Union for its active participation. Operation Artemis has been able to restore a modicum of calm.

Certain positive political developments to which Mr. Ngongi has referred point to an emerging silver lining. They include the formation of the Transitional

Government and the national army. We are heartened by those measures and we reiterate our call on all Congolese parties to work together with the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) and others. That is essential to bringing peace and stability to that troubled land.

Bangladesh welcomes the important contribution made by the United States to the trust fund for the Ituri interim administration.

We are pleased that the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has included the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Bunia in particular, as a very deserving case in the international humanitarian appeal for refugees in Africa. We commend MONUC for its strategy paper on Bunia and Ituri, which provides a phased timeline to address the range of future challenges in that region.

Bangladesh, whose birth was preceded by a protracted war, is today a country in the midst of a most positive transformation. A democratic polity dedicated to development and a vibrant civil society have spawned many innovative ideas, raising vast numbers of the populace out of poverty every year. We are anxious to share our experiences with societies of comparable milieu. We believe that, just as we have done, Africa has the potential, with some external help, to lift itself up by its own bootstraps. But development requires that conflicts must first cease.

Bangladesh is therefore prepared to contribute, to the best of its modest capability, to that process in Africa, which includes the Democratic Republic of the Congo. To that end, we have committed one mechanized infantry battalion of 1,050 troops to MONUC's second task force. The deployment is well under way. In this connection, I must pay tribute to Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno and his team for the excellent cooperation and coordination between his Department and us, which have rendered this intricate procedure so smooth. The Bangladesh troops will relieve the IEMF by 1 September, as the Council has stipulated. We are fully aware that the military threat assessment is higher in that area of operation than in most others we have faced. Nonetheless, the Bangladesh army has a rich tradition that dates back long into history. We are confident of delivering in the Congo. Indeed, if required, we are prepared to make further contributions in terms of men and material.

It is our hope, though, that the Council will act promptly in consonance with the Secretary-General's recommendations to raise troop ceilings under MONUC and to provide a more robust mandate. These sentiments have rightly found resonance in many statements made here today. It is also important that the second task force, in its full-strength enhanced brigade formation, be in place on the ground as soon as possible. That failing, there could be a security vacuum following the departure of the IEMF. That is something no one wants; it cannot, and must not, be allowed to occur.

We are encouraged by the contents of the draft resolution at hand. In our view, its adoption will make a tremendous difference in helping to stabilize the situation in Bunia and beyond.

The tragedy in the Congo has gone on for far too long. It must be brought to a close. The Congo must be put back on the track of peace and progress as soon as possible. The international community has a responsibility in that regard. Our commitment to universal values demands that it be discharged.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

**Mr. Aboul Gheit** (Egypt) (*spoke in Arabic*): This meeting is taking place at a sensitive stage in the Council's efforts to put an end to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. There can be no doubt that the Security Council has done a great deal to analyse the various aspects of the conflict. It has had recourse to a number of mechanisms to deal with this very complex issue. Events and developments on the ground, however, mean that we must continue to pursue our efforts, which will require greater political and material commitment. Further courageous and difficult decisions will also be necessary.

We support the priority assigned by the Security Council and the Secretary-General to backing and encouraging the peace process, which is beginning to bear fruit after a long period of waiting. All of the internal political parties must commit themselves to both the letter and the spirit of the Lusaka accord and the Luanda, Sun City and Bujumbura agreements. The activities of the Transitional Government of National Unity must be supported. The Government must be

able gradually to expand its authority throughout the territory.

Significant and difficult challenges, however, remain to be overcome. The Security Council must take decisive measures and adopt policies that move the political process forward. Half measures must be avoided. Resources must be made available, and an appropriate mandate adopted for the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) so that it can properly discharge its mission in a number of areas.

First, support must be provided for the political process, including a guarantee of the commitment of all political parties to the meetings and other activities of the Transitional Government. Secondly, the protection of civilians and property must be assured and access to displaced persons and refugees guaranteed for international rescue organizations. Thirdly, the implementation of ceasefire measures and of steps to prevent arms supplies to the various military factions must be monitored. Fourthly, the monitoring and implementation of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants into civilian life must take place. Fifthly, the activities of United Nations programmes and bodies in the area of social development, institutional capacity-building and human rights protection must be coordinated. Sixthly, capacity must be strengthened for training national security institutions to discharge their functions to protect the internal and external boundaries of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the national resources of the country.

We reaffirm the critical role that is being played by the group of experts that is studying the illegal exploitation of the natural resources of the Democratic Republic of the Congo within the framework of support for the political operation under way. We are all well aware of the close relationship between the illegal exploitation of resources, arms flows and the continuation of the fighting in the east and north-east of the country. Thus the establishment of peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo will depend, to a significant extent, on the determination of the international community to put an end to the illegal economic activities taking place there.

It is well known that the current conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is having negative regional repercussions for the entire Great Lakes region. The balance of forces in the region plays an important role in that bloody conflict. We believe, therefore, that the establishment of peace and security in the Democratic Republic of the Congo will depend first and foremost on taking into account the political, security and economic needs of the States of the Great Lakes region as a whole, as well as on creating a common denominator of shared interests based on good-neighbourliness and respect for the sovereignty of each State over its own territory.

In that context, the holding of an international conference on the establishment of peace in the Great Lakes region takes on increasing importance. That will require serious preparatory work under the auspices of the United Nations and the African Union, with the participation of all the forces involved, both international and regional. That conference must study the concept of peace-building in a comprehensive manner, including development, political and security issues, and accept the idea that peace is indivisible.

We welcome the courageous initiative of the European Union to create the International Emergency Multinational Force in Bunia, which has allowed for the stabilization of the situation in that city — a city that has suffered from bloody conflict. In the context of that important decision, we welcome Mr. Javier Solana, who is here with us today.

As a country contributing troops to MONUC, Egypt would like to congratulate Mr. Ngongi for his outstanding leadership in dealing with the mandate and resources of MONUC. We are sure that MONUC, with the guidance of Mr. Swing, and given his experience and many contacts, will also make great progress on the basis of the new mandate with which the Council will soon provide the mission.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Brazil. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

**Mr. Sardenberg** (Brazil): Thank you very much, Mr. President, for having convened this open meeting to debate the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I would also like to thank Mr. Guéhenno and Mr. Solana for their comprehensive statements this morning.

I would like to take this opportunity to express Brazil's firm support for the efforts undertaken by the

Secretary-General with regard to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We are confident that his new Special Representative, Ambassador William Swing, will continue to show the leadership that is crucial for the success of the peace process, as did his predecessor, Amos Namanga Ngongi.

Brazil cherishes its ties with Africa, forged through centuries of intertwined history. In this regard, Brazil is ready to offer its share of contributions to help the African people tackle their difficulties, some of which are very familiar to our own country. Appalled by the humanitarian situation in Bunia, the Brazilian Congress has authorized the deployment of two Air Force cargo planes, with their crews, to be used in the transportation of troops and humanitarian assistance from Entebbe to Bunia, under the coordination of the Multinational Force established by resolution 1484 (2003).

Current efforts made by the international community to bring immediate relief to the Congolese people and to re-establish control over the clashes taking place in Ituri will have to be followed up. We therefore commend the Council on its efforts to provide the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) with a more robust mandate before the mandate of the Multinational Force is due to end. A vacuum of authority in the region could harm the significant achievements made by the Ituri Interim Administration and threaten the activities of the recently established Transitional Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Brazil congratulates all the parties involved in the establishment of the Transitional Government and the recently promulgated Transitional Constitution. Those developments would not have happened without MONUC's support, which will remain crucial throughout the process leading to the holding of elections and the creation of a truly democratic Government in the near future. Democracy is the basis for sustainable peace. Brazil looks forward to the successful work of the Independent Electoral Commission and is ready to cooperate with it, drawing on our experience in organizing elections in areas of difficult access.

The agreements reached through the inter-Congolese dialogue are highly commendable. Brazil believes that the Secretary-General should be provided with all the resources required to maintain the current trend of positive results. We favour a temporary arms embargo for the region and the establishment of a mechanism for monitoring and inspection.

The cruelty of the crimes committed in Ituri and the Kivus shocks the human conscience. The observance of international humanitarian law is a condition for peace in the region. In that connection, MONUC should also be capable of providing a reasonably safe environment in which humanitarian agencies can operate.

For sustainable peace to be established, renewed efforts should be made to ensure that impunity for those responsible for atrocities and crimes against humanity does not prevail. It is our view that the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights should be provided with all necessary support and security so that it can offer assistance and gather information on the ground. The recommendations put forward by Mr. Bertrand Ramcharan some 10 days ago before the Council deserve our full support. In particular, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations should be involved in providing psychological help to victims and witnesses of atrocities. It should not be overlooked that even some perpetrators of violence deserve assistance, as is the case with child soldiers. We also urge the international community to support the work of the national Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the National Observatory for Human Rights, which are to be established under the All-Inclusive Agreement signed in December 2002.

To conclude, we would like to commend the Governments of the neighbouring countries for their support for the activities of the United Nations on the ground. Neighbouring countries should seize the opportunity offered by the success achieved in the inter-Congolese dialogue to consider negotiating international agreements to deal with the remaining concerns about security in the region.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

**Mr. Haraguchi** (Japan): The present state of affairs in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is one of the most critical situations that the international community has to address. Japan therefore welcomes this opportunity for non-members of the Security

Council to express their opinions on this very important subject.

The agreement forged as the result of long negotiations among the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and other Congolese parties for the formation of the new Transitional Government of National Unity, followed by the announcement by President Joseph Kabila on 30 June designating the ministers of the new Government and yesterday's swearing-in of four vice-presidents, is a very important step in the peace process in that country. The Government of Japan welcomes such progress and commends the efforts made by the facilitators in that regard. It is our fervent hope that all Congolese parties concerned will cooperate fully in order to allow the Government to begin functioning as soon as possible, in accordance with the Transitional Constitution. The Japanese Government, for its part, is prepared to cooperate closely with the new Government and, in this connection, is considering the possibility of extending assistance in the area of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants.

My Government is convinced that it is a matter of great urgency to take measures to stabilize the situation and thereby avoid a humanitarian crisis in the eastern part of the country. We very much appreciate the activities undertaken by the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) and by the Interim Emergency Multinational Force (IEMF) dispatched under the leadership of the European Union under extremely difficult conditions. As the situation following the withdrawal of the IEMF this coming September is difficult to predict, it is important for the Security Council promptly to adopt a resolution authorizing the deployment of troops with an appropriate mandate in the Ituri region and thus ensure a smooth transition from the IEMF to the MONUC contingent. That will demonstrate to the parties concerned the strong resolve of the Council to advance the peace process. I would like to raise three issues that should be considered in addressing this matter.

First, given the seriousness of the situation in the area of Bunia and in order to advance the Ituri pacification process, we recognize that the MONUC contingent deployed in the region requires a sufficiently robust enforcement mandate, and we support the granting of such a mandate. At the same time, we believe that it is necessary to exercise caution. A strong enforcement mandate for activities such as providing security under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter will, under circumstances in which certain parties are not participating in the ceasefire agreement or peace accord, risk changing the current practices of peacekeeping operations and plunging the troops into very complicated situations, in which they may be required to engage in combat as if they were parties to the conflict. Therefore, we should not easily confer such robust powers on other peacekeeping operations. Such a mandate should be given to peacekeepers only in exceptional cases in which the urgency of the situation makes it absolutely necessary and in which there are countries willing to contribute troops, as well as the clear prospect that the troops dispatched with such a mandate will contribute to the improvement of the situation. I would also like to stress that it would be inappropriate to formulate such an enforcement mandate in an ambiguous manner. It should be clearly defined by a Council resolution to show under what conditions and in which geographical areas it will be exercised, and the rules of engagement enabling the exercise of the mandate should be established accordingly.

Secondly, with respect to the size of the Mission, the Government of Japan recognizes the need for strengthening MONUC in order to address adequately the additional, urgent needs that have emerged in the eastern part of the country and to prevent the spreading of the crisis to other parts of the country. However, we consider it unrealistic to take the same approach to the entire territory as is being applied in the Ituri region. Peace cannot be consolidated by force through the foreign military presence of MONUC in a country as vast as the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We must stress that all parties concerned need to cooperate of their own volition in promoting the peace process.

Thirdly, with respect to the arms embargo proposed by the Secretary-General, Japan believes that it is important to ensure its effectiveness once it is imposed. From that point of view, we hope that the Security Council will carefully consider the introduction of the necessary measures, particularly the issue of how to monitor its implementation. In relation to the problem of small arms and light weapons, it was indicated during the Biennial Meeting on Small Arms last week that, based on the Programme of Action initiated in 2001, national focal points for this issue have been established in the Great Lakes region. Close

cooperation with those national contact points in the implementation of an arms embargo is essential. I also wish to take this opportunity to stress that the Council should consider taking effective measures to deal with the problem of the illicit exploitation of natural resources as well.

Under the leadership of Ambassador Swing, newly appointed Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Japan hopes that MONUC will continue to function effectively. If we fail in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the credibility of United Nations peacekeeping operations will be seriously compromised. The international community must remain committed to devoting its utmost efforts to helping to solve the problem.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Indonesia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

**Mr. Jenie** (Indonesia): As this is the first time that I have taken the floor before the Security Council since I took office in the Permanent Mission of Indonesia this month, please permit me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for July. We look forward to working with you for the rest of the month, and we wish you every success. I should also like to thank Special Representative Amos Ngongi and European Union High Representative Javier Solana for their briefings.

My delegation is pleased to align itself with the Security Council's commitment to peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This meeting comes against the backdrop of the recent visit of the Council to that country in the continued quest for peace in the area — a tour that, I am happy to say, is in accord with the wishes of my delegation. In principle, there is no doubt that such a visit offers a tremendous opportunity for the members of the Council to gain a deeper understanding of the issues and the players, thereby contributing to the formulation of the best possible conflict-resolution strategies.

Domestically, it comes as a great relief to learn that the Transitional Government announced by President Joseph Kabila on 30 June 2003 has become a reality with the swearing-in of the Vice-Presidents. The new Government is a viable basis for unifying the country and for bringing into the centre all parties and elements relevant to the search for peace.

In addition, it is the hope of Indonesia that, with the agreement on the distribution of military command posts, the final obstacle in the path of the Transitional Government has been eliminated. In that connection, my delegation would like to highlight the involvement of an Indonesian contingent in the peace process, not only as a demonstration of the commitment of my Government to peace in the country, but also as a symbol of Indonesia's continued faith in United Nations peacekeeping and of its constitutional commitment to international peace.

I now turn to the question of violence and human rights violations. The situation in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo — where both violence and allegations of violations of human rights and of international humanitarian law have become routine — has been of tremendous concern to the international community for several years. The picture of an area where violence and impunity reign and where security of life and of property is at a minimum cannot be reconciled with the conditions necessary for development.

It is in that connection that we return to the political structures now being set up in the country. The Transitional Government holds the key to the resolution of the crisis; in its hands rests the ability to reconcile this divided country and to return peace to the people. Given the fair distribution of posts to relevant parties in the traditional administration, there may now be full and representative national participation in the political process, leading to free and fair elections. The concept of an inter-Congolese dialogue has always been important in the search for peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the Transitional Government — in itself an exercise of the political expression of the entire nation — is truly positioned to organize the proper forum for such a dialogue.

Similarly, in view of the issues that have arisen in the course of this conflict, we share the view that the Security Council should establish a National Observatory for Human Rights and a National Truth and Reconciliation Commission without delay. Beyond the pursuit of justice, there is an equally critical reason why the work of those bodies is indispensable, and that is the vexing question of impunity. It is obvious that a part of the reason why there have continued to be such persistent violence and violations of human rights and of international humanitarian law is that there is no

dissuasion of any sort with regard to the actions of armed parties. That is a legal, philosophical and practical loophole that must not continue to exist. It is critical that anyone intent on committing human rights crimes recognize that there will be serious consequences for such crimes.

I cannot conclude these remarks without paying due tribute to the United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) as an institution and to the men and women who make it work. Despite all the difficulties it has encountered, MONUC has been instrumental in the progress that has been made thus far by the United Nations in the search for peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The Mission is a demonstration of the potential of the United Nations in the search for international peace, a potential and a tool that the international community must continue to nurture and treasure.

My delegation is gratified at the provisions of General Assembly resolution 57/337, on the prevention of armed conflict, which recognizes the important role that the United Nations should continue to play in the prevention of armed conflict by promoting conflict resolution and dispute settlement. Further, it encourages the continued strengthening of the process of the peaceful settlement of disputes and efforts to make it more effective.

While the support of the international community is vital in the situation unfolding in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, what is even more important is the determination of the Congolese to overcome the obstacles to peace that have haunted their country for so many long years and have denied them the opportunity to turn the vast resources of their land towards development. The challenge before them is to demonstrate a genuine thirst for peace in their country, for there can be no commencing the building of development without the foundation of peace.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of the Philippines. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

**Mr. Baja** (Philippines): We congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month, and we commend the Russian presidency for its excellent stewardship of the Council last month.

We also wish to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this important meeting at a time when significant developments are under way in the Democratic Republic of the Congo — a conflict area that has claimed some 3 million lives. We note with particular interest the briefings of Under-Secretary-General Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Special Representative Mr. Amos Ngongi and European Union High Representative Mr. Javier Solana. We welcome Ambassador William Swing's appointment as Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

We join the international community in welcoming the swearing-in yesterday of the four Vice-Presidents who constitute the Transitional Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Indeed, it is a significant step to unify the Democratic Republic of the Congo during this critical stage. We wish all the Congolese parties success in their efforts to achieve genuine national reconciliation. We encourage them to maintain the 22-month time frame for the Transitional Government to usher in the establishment of an elected Government. We share the Congolese people's goal of holding credible and fair democratic elections.

My delegation notes that the formation of a Transitional Government was a swift response to the call of the recent Security Council mission to Central Africa, led by France, for the Congolese parties to implement without further delay the global and all-inclusive accord on the establishment of a Transitional Government. Indeed, Security Council missions to conflict areas — missions which engage in dialogue with the relevant parties involved in conflict — make an important and meaningful contribution to steps to resolve such conflict.

However, the formation of a Transitional Government is only a first step. Security in the Ituri region remains fragile. We commend France and the other countries that make up the International Emergency Multinational Force (IEMF) in Bunia for immediately providing security in that area. It is thus of paramount importance that a security vacuum not emerge once the IEMF has completed its mandate by 1 September. In this regard, the proposal of the Secretary-General to strengthen MONUC deserves support. We note the considerable progress made in the negotiations on the draft resolution to address that concern. My delegation looks forward to the early

adoption of that draft resolution, under Chapter VII of the Charter.

We are fully aware that the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is complex and difficult. However, it is not insurmountable. We agree with the conclusion of the recent Security Council mission to Central Africa that the time for war has passed and that the time has come to carry out the political agreements of the parties. It is now time to translate the commitments made in the peace agreements into reality. The strengthening of MONUC is only one of the measures to halt the fighting and the violence in the volatile areas. My delegation would like to endorse a number of initiatives — initiatives that have been repeatedly echoed but that have yet to be implemented — to create a long-term peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

First, an international conference involving the countries in the Great Lakes region should be convened. My delegation notes the preparatory work that has been undertaken in this regard. This would be a step in the right direction, and it should be vigorously pursued. Secondly, an agreement on good-neighbourliness must be forged.

My delegation also notes the briefings given last week by Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno and Mr. Bertrand Ramcharan, United Nations Deputy High Commissioner for Human Rights, with regard to the investigations made concerning specific incidents involving gross human rights violations. Every effort must be undertaken to bring the perpetrators of those acts to justice.

Finally, more concrete steps should be adopted to stop the pillaging of the Democratic Republic of the Congo's natural resources. We thus look forward to the Council's response to the recommendations of the Kassem Panel report.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Rwanda. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

**Mr. Kamanzi** (Rwanda) (*spoke in French*): Like previous speakers, I should like to welcome the presence here this morning of the Secretary-General. This is a sign of the determination of the United Nations to help to resolve conflict in the Great Lakes region and to achieve peace there.

I should like also to thank Mr. Guéhenno and Mr. Ngongi for their statements concerning recent developments and events in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which, in my view, were assessed positively.

I should like also to thank Mr. Solana for his initiative of travelling to the region to see for himself the magnitude of the crisis in Africa, which is evidence of the fresh impetus given by the international community, and the European Union in particular, to assist that region finally to overcome the crises afflicting it and the attendant untold suffering.

We are grateful to the President of the Council for having convened this important public meeting on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is taking place at an important moment: the day after the establishment of the Government in keeping with the Lusaka accords and the inter-Congolese dialogue. We are also at this time prompted to reflect on the future of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and that of the Great Lakes region as a whole.

The Government of Rwanda welcomes the establishment of an inclusive Government in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which has become a reality with the return to Kinshasa of the primary leaders of the rebel movements — the Mouvement national de libération du Congo and the Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (RCD)-Goma — as well as the swearing-in of the four vice-presidents of the Republic, who were nominated within the framework of the establishment of the Transitional Government.

Throughout the Congolese crisis, the Government of Rwanda has consistently drawn the attention of the Council and of the international community to the need to establish an inclusive Government strong enough to re-establish authority on its territory and sufficiently responsible to ensure respect for the security of neighbouring States. This concern was once again emphasized by His Excellency President Paul Kagame during his meeting with the Security Council mission in Kigali last month.

The establishment of the Transitional Government is not an end in itself. My Government therefore hopes that it marks the beginning of a firm commitment to genuine peace and stability within the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as well as in the region as a whole, and that it will provide a legitimate

means of rallying Congolese people of all convictions around a shared ideal of unity, justice and equality before the law in a country where exclusion in any form would be banned, with a view to rebuilding a prosperous Democratic Republic of the Congo.

My Government would like also to express the hope that the Transitional Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo will shoulder its responsibilities with regard to the various armed groups in its territory by promoting effective implementation of the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation or resettlement programme, with respect for the accords previously signed in Lusaka and Pretoria.

My Government is committed to cooperating with the Transitional Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in order to find answers to issues of security, sovereignty and peace in the region, in the interests of our respective countries and peoples.

My Government reiterates its full cooperation with MONUC and hopes that the Mission will be strengthened in a manner that is commensurate with its important task.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*) The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Nepal. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

**Mr. Sharma** (Nepal): I should like at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July and on the outstanding manner in which you have been conducting the business of the Council.

I appreciate the fact that you have convened this timely public debate on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I also appreciate the contribution of the former Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Ngongi, to the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I welcome the appointment of Mr. William Swing as the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and wish him success in his work.

Let me also express our appreciation to Mr. Javier Solana for having briefed us on the initiative taken by the European Union in the search for peace and security in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Let me also express my appreciation to Mr. Guéhenno for the briefing he gave this morning.

Rich in natural resources and ethnic diversity, the Democratic Republic of the Congo has long remained a hotbed of conflict in Africa. Neighbouring countries have found their interests intersecting with each other and often interfere in the internal affairs of that country. Rival groups have fought among themselves and with the Government forces. The multi-ethnic eastern region of Ituri has experienced the worst form of violence of late.

The violence has taken a huge toll. Since 1999 alone, more than 60,000 people have lost their lives, 100,000 have fled their country as refugees and nearly 600,000 have been displaced. People's property, as well as towns and villages have been destroyed. Clearly the Democratic Republic of the Congo is a major case of an acute humanitarian and security crisis.

Nepal welcomes the establishment of a new Transitional Administration in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and believes that the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) should help the new administration to bring peace and security to Kinshasa and elsewhere so that a democratic political process can be set in motion.

We also welcome the role that the Multinational Force, led by France, has played in containing violence in the Bunia area. The fact that the Bangladeshi contingent has begun to arrive in the Bunia area will go a long way towards promoting peace and stability in the Ituri region.

Nepal feels strong solidarity with the Congolese people and pledges its full cooperation to help them achieve peace and stability. Consistent with the pledge, Nepal has already deployed 19 military observers and headquarters staff and has made a further commitment of an army corps of engineers that is awaiting deployment by 1 September 2003 in Bunia.

We believe that the world community must redouble its efforts to restore lasting peace and stability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The role of African countries in bolstering the process will be absolutely critical. African nations will also play an important role in building bridges among the parties in conflict. That will be essential in this respect.

At the same time, the Security Council must quickly take a fresh decision to increase MONUC's troop strength considerably and to adjust its mandate.

Only a credible MONUC presence can create confidence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which is critical to stop hostilities in the Ituri region and elsewhere, to secure the Transitional Government on a firm footing in Kinshasa, and to implement an effective disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme. The Council should also impose and enforce an arms embargo on the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

To meet these challenges, the present Council-authorized strength of 8,700 troops is woefully insufficient. Nepal therefore calls on the Security Council to comply with the recommendations of the Secretary-General regarding the size of military deployment in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We also underline the need to address the humanitarian needs of the Congolese people as a matter of priority.

The people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo deserve peace and prosperity. While they ought to work towards that goal with greater commitment on their part, the world community must come to their aid in a forthright manner. To promote peace and prosperity in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is as much a moral imperative as it is in the enlightened self-interest of the global community. A peaceful and prosperous Democratic Republic of the Congo will be a boon to the well-being of Africa and of the entire world.

Nepal is willing to help the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, through the United Nations, to the best of its capacity by contributing troops and other resources.

If asked by the United Nations, we are prepared to contribute one infantry battalion, which a Union assessment team that visited Kathmandu recently found fully capable of operating in the existing situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): This brings us to the end of a meeting which, I think, has been tremendously interesting. I should like to thank Mr. Guéhenno, Mr. Solana and Mr. Ngongi.

*The meeting rose at 2.10 p.m.*

United Nations S/PV.4791

# Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

*Provisional*

**4791** st meeting

Tuesday, 22 July 2003, 10 a.m.

New York

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *President:* | Ms. Palacio | (Spain) |
| *Members:* | Angola | Mr. Gaspar Martins |
| | Bulgaria | Mr. Tafrov |
| | Cameroon | Mr. Belinga-Eboutou |
| | Chile | Mr. Muñoz |
| | China | Mr. Zhang Yishan |
| | France | Mr. De La Sablière |
| | Germany | Mr. Pleuger |
| | Guinea | Mr. Boubacar Diallo |
| | Mexico | Mr. Aguilar Zinser |
| | Pakistan | Mr. Akram |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Gatilov |
| | Syrian Arab Republic | Mr. Wehbe |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Sir Jeremy Greenstock |
| | United States of America | Mr. Negroponte |

## Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 24 of Security Council resolution 1483 (2003) (S/2003/715)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-43558 (E)

*The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**The situation between Iraq and Kuwait**

**Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 24 of Security Council resolution 1483 (2003) (S/2003/715)**

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq.

It is so decided.

I invite Mr. Vieira de Mello to take a seat at the Council table.

I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 17 July 2003 from the Permanent Representative of Spain to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

> "I have the honour to address you, as President of the Security Council for the month of July, in order to request that Mr. Adnan Pachachi, Mr. Ahmad Chalabi and Ms. Aqeela al-Hashemi, members of the Governing Council of Iraq, be allowed to participate in the Security Council meeting that will take place on Tuesday, 22 July 2003, concerning the item entitled 'The situation between Iraq and Kuwait', in accordance with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council."

That letter has been published as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/2003/750.

If I hear no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Adnan Pachachi, Mr. Ahmad Chalabi and Ms. Aqeela al-Hashemi to take seats at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 24 of Security Council resolution 1483 (2003), document S/2003/715.

I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, and I invite him to take the floor.

**The Secretary-General**: I am delighted that my Special Representative, Sergio Vieira de Mello, is with us today. I am sure I speak for all of us in expressing warm gratitude to him, his staff and all of his team for their outstanding work so far. I should also say a special word of gratitude to the United Nations staff in Iraq — international and national — for their dedicated work in often difficult circumstances.

Let me also welcome the presence here of the representatives of the Iraqi Governing Council; its formation is an important first step towards the full restoration of Iraqi sovereignty.

The Council has before it my report (S/2003/715), which we have sought to make as comprehensive as possible under rapidly changing circumstances. I will leave it to my Special Representative to give a detailed account of his mission so far.

I wish, however, to take this opportunity to reiterate the following fundamental principles underlying the activities of the United Nations under resolution 1483 (2003) — principles which we all share: the need to respect the independence and territorial integrity of Iraq; the need to restore sovereignty to the people of Iraq as soon as possible; the need to respect the Iraqi people's right to determine their political future; the need to respect Iraq's sovereignty over its territory and natural resources; and the need for Iraq to be restored to the position of a full and responsible partner in the international community, at ease with its neighbours.

Resolution 1483 (2003) provides a mandate for the United Nations to assist the people of Iraq in a wide range of areas. In all we do, we need to keep the interests of the Iraqi people at the forefront of our minds. We should listen to their needs, expressed by them in their terms, and we should try to respond. I believe that Sergio Vieira de Mello has been doing precisely that throughout his weeks in Baghdad and his visits to the region.

Our collective goal remains an early end to the military occupation through the formation of an internationally recognized, representative Government. Meanwhile, it is vital that the Iraqi people should be able to see a clear timetable with a specific sequence of events leading to the full restoration of sovereignty as soon as possible.

In practical terms, this means that the establishment of the Governing Council must be followed by a constitutional process run by Iraqis for Iraqis. The United Nations will continue to play an active role in facilitating and supporting the political process, working together with the Governing Council and the Coalition Provisional Authority.

The people of Iraq are anxious for their country to become a stable, democratic and prosperous State. To succeed, they will need the support of their neighbours and the region as a whole. What happens in Iraq does not happen in vacuum. A stable Iraq — one that is at peace with itself and its neighbours — is in our collective interest, particularly that of the region.

That is why I have instructed Mr. Vieira de Mello to engage in an ongoing dialogue with leaders of neighbouring countries and the region. He has already consulted senior officials or heads of State from a number of countries and intends to expand these consultations to include all States concerned. I trust I can count on their cooperation.

The challenge that awaits us in Iraq is enormous. Let us all do our utmost to rise to meet that challenge. We owe no less than that to the Iraqi people.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I now call on Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq.

**Mr. Vieira de Mello** (*spoke in Spanish*): It is an honour to be briefing the Council today under your stewardship, Madam, only three days after our meeting in Baghdad.

In addressing all present, I wish particularly to greet those three who are in this room representing the Governing Council of Iraq. I am here today to introduce the Secretary-General's report on the work of the United Nations in implementing the mandate accorded it under resolution 1483 (2003). My focus will lie particularly on those aspects of the mandate outlined in operative paragraph 8 of that document.

In this briefing, I shall seek to complement, not duplicate, the text of the report. I shall aim to provide a picture in words of the current situation in Iraq, brief the Council on the latest developments with regard to the political process currently under way and outline those areas in which the United Nations, now and in the immediate future, can help in the implementation of that resolution.

Before I commence my briefing proper, however, let me begin by paying tribute to the extraordinary people of Iraq.

In recent weeks, my colleagues and I have been awed by the evocation of the history of a great country. Babylon was described by Herodotus as far back as 450 BC, when it was already thousands of years old, as being unparalleled in its magnificence. Iraq's contribution to our understanding and appreciation of law, of science and of art — indeed, its contribution to human civilization — has been immense.

This should be and is a source of pride to the Iraqi people — a pride that is today deeply hurt. Iraq is something other than a past repressive regime; it is something other than a pariah State; it is not simply the scene of conflict, deprivation and abuse. It is a country with a singularly rich history. That its immediate past has been so terrible is a tragedy on which we all must reflect. The Iraqi people deserve far more than their recent years have afforded them.

It is the cornerstone of the Secretary-General's approach to the work of the United Nations in Iraq, as outlined in his report to the Council, that everything we do must be for the benefit of the people and country of Iraq; must be decided on by or in consultation with them; and must be aimed at enabling as soon as possible the full restoration of Iraq's full sovereignty and return to the community of nations. The United Nations looks forward, as quickly as possible, to welcoming back one of its founding Members.

(*spoke in English*)

With respect to the political process, for me, on arriving in Iraq at the beginning of June and not being an expert on the country, only the first step was obvious, as the Secretary-General just pointed out. It was to speak with as many Iraqis as possible to find out what it was that they wanted for themselves and how it was that they saw we might be of assistance in realizing these aspirations.

I have thus spent the past weeks travelling the country and meeting with a wide array of Iraqis: politicians, civil society leaders, lawyers, spiritual leaders, doctors, journalists, artists and human rights activists. From my preliminary discussions, a number of consistent themes emerge.

First, they want to see themselves back at the helm of their country. They also want to see the arrival of security and of the rule of law. Equally, Iraqis want to see the restoration of basic services: reliable electricity, clean water, schools back up and running, hospitals functioning and so on. They want to see the establishment of permanent, Iraqi, representative and credible institutions that operate in their service. In all these areas, they — including those who are critical, even resentful of what they perceive to be the United Nations past record in their country — unanimously call for an energetic, centre-stage role for the Organization.

These are the traumas, the anxieties, the aspirations and the frustrations of the Iraqi people with which we all must empathize and to which we must respond if we are to succeed in this endeavour.

The formation on 13 July of Iraq's Governing Council was a significant step towards that goal. As the report of the Secretary-General outlines, that body has been invested with significant executive powers, agreed jointly between the members of the Governing Council and the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), with particular but not exclusive emphasis on foreign affairs, finance, security and the constitutional process. The Governing Council will soon be appointing Iraqi interim ministers and, importantly, designating Iraqi representation in international forums.

We now have an institution that, while not democratically elected, can be viewed as broadly representative of the various constituencies in Iraq. As such, its establishment is a welcome development for the international community and for the United Nations. It means that we now have a formal body of senior and distinguished Iraqi counterparts, with credibility and authority, with whom we can chart the way forward. For decisions of national importance to be authoritative, they must be seen to be the product of Iraqi decision-making of as representative a nature as is possible.

With the formation of the Governing Council, we now enter a new stage that succeeds the disorienting power vacuum that followed the fall of the previous regime. On my return to Baghdad, I intend to sit with the Governing Council to see how best we might develop together the areas of activity the Secretary-General outlined in his report, as well as in any other areas it believes we might be of assistance. It is our firm intention to assist, advise, support and help consolidate this initial embodiment of Iraqi executive authority.

I commend the Iraqi leaders on the Governing Council for their statesmanship in assuming this historic responsibility. I also commend the Coalition Provisional Authority — and in particular Ambassadors Bremer, Sawers and Crocker — for their efforts in seeking to ensure the full implementation of resolution 1483 (2003) as soon as possible. As the Security Council has resolved, the day when Iraqis govern themselves must come quickly. The formation of the Governing Council is a necessary step in that direction. I am thus delighted that the Security Council has the opportunity today to meet formally with Mr. Pachachi, Mr. Chalabi and Ms. Al-Hashemi to hear from that delegation their vision for the transition and beyond.

The process leading to the establishment of the Governing Council was complicated but bears hope for the future. It is truly unprecedented that Iraq is going through the present legal, political and military circumstances. The making of the Governing Council required intense consultations and compromise on all sides. I am convinced that this experience will stand Iraq in good stead in dealing with the many challenges that lie ahead.

Iraq has many fundamental political issues on which to decide, not least determining the process by which a constitution can be drawn up, as well as the timing and precise nature of elections. These will need to be held in order, in the words of resolution 1483 (2003), for an internationally recognized, representative Government to come into being.

For the constitution to be viewed as credible, it is essential that its drafting be an Iraqi-driven process. All are in agreement on that. I thus welcome the Governing Council's intention to make that an early focus of its deliberations. We stand ready, should the Governing Council so desire, to share our experience in this field.

Preparing for elections is a complex, time-consuming matter. I am thus pleased that we will soon welcome to Iraq a visit by the Electoral Assistance Division of the Department of Political Affairs to begin discussion with the Governing Council and the Coalition Provisional Authority on possible electoral frameworks and the resulting calendar. That process cannot begin too soon, not least to serve as a tangible demonstration of intent that full sovereignty is to be restored to Iraq as quickly as possible, and that the current state of affairs is finite.

As the Secretary-General emphasizes in his report, now more than ever, Iraq needs the support of its neighbours. As he just said, immediately prior to my coming here I visited His Royal Highness Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia, in Taif. I also travelled to Damascus and Tehran, where I met with Presidents Al-Assad and Khatami and Foreign Ministers Al-Shara' and Kharrazi, respectively. In late June, I accompanied the Secretary-General to Amman. There, we met with Foreign Ministers Maher, Muasher and Gül — of Egypt, Jordan and Turkey respectively — as well as with Secretary-General Amr Moussa of the League of Arab States. I hope to be visiting those neighbours, as well as Kuwait, on my return to the region.

All were concerned to see resolution 1483 (2003) implemented as quickly as possible. Some were anxious for reassurance that the Governing Council was a truly representative and independent body with genuine executive authority. All, not surprisingly, desired to see a new Iraq at peace with itself and its neighbours, and wished the United Nations to take the lead in achieving that vision.

In turn, I urged all of Iraq's neighbours to play their supportive role to the full, to embrace the Governing Council and to provide it with whatever assistance it may request. As the Secretary-General pointed out, the aim must be to help consolidate Iraq's national unity, territorial integrity, stability and prosperity. In so doing, Iraq's neighbours will contribute significantly to regional and world peace and security.

On the issue of security, the political process — which still has a long way to go — is only one of the challenges currently facing Iraq. As the Council will be aware, security in Iraq remains tenuous. Too many are losing their lives, on an almost daily basis. It is imperative that security, law and order be restored throughout Iraq as soon as possible. Without them, every area of activity will be impacted for the worse.

In the run-up to the formation of the Governing Council, Iraqis cooperating with the Coalition Provisional Authority have been the subjects of attacks. Another disturbing trend has been attacks against Iraqi police. There have been virtually daily attacks on coalition forces, which have been widely reported in the media. In parallel, common law criminality is a major problem, not helped by Saddam Hussain's decision, in October last year, to empty the prisons — with the exception, of course, of political detainees. The potential impact of this violence must not be underestimated. It threatens to undermine confidence in the transition and to shake the resolve of Iraqis committed to leading their country through this very delicate period in its history.

The United Nations presence in Iraq remains vulnerable to any who would seek to target our Organization, as recent events in Mosul — described in the Secretary-General's report — illustrate. Our security continues to rely significantly on the reputation of the United Nations, our ability to demonstrate, meaningfully, that we are in Iraq to assist its people, and our independence. Recent attacks, one fatal, on the International Organization for Migration, are also of great concern. I have just been informed this morning that today in Baghdad a delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross was killed in an incident south of the capital.

In the current context, the coalition has the primary obligation of restoring and maintaining security, law and order. The Governing Council, too, now has policy prerogatives on matters concerning Iraq's national security. Ultimately, only Iraqis can fulfil that responsibility on behalf of a national authority that enjoys credibility, respect and resources.

Although we cannot be, and do not wish to be, a substitute for the Coalition Provisional Authority in this field, the United Nations stands ready to lend modest assistance, in terms of its expertise, in the area of developing an effective national law and order capacity. We have much training experience in that area, not least in the field of human rights. I would encourage the Coalition Provisional Authority and the Governing Council to make use of it, as well as of those offers to assist with police development that I

have received from a number of Member States and organizations. In the coming weeks, I intend to focus my discussion with the Coalition Provisional Authority and the Governing Council on how best that might be done so as to effectively give life to paragraph 8 (h) of resolution 1483 (2003).

We are also expecting a visit, at the end of this month, from our colleagues at the United Nations Office in Vienna, who will be dispatching an assessment mission to look into how best strategies might be developed to deal with different types of organized crime, and particularly drug smuggling. Again, I was speaking with my colleague Antonio Costa about this matter this very morning.

We also stand ready to offer advice on correctional reform. Establishing a proper prison system that processes detainees in a timely manner and that is in accordance with all human rights obligations is an imperative. We have seconded an experienced senior colleague from the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo to assist in this area.

With regard to humanitarian assistance, United Nations activities did not begin in Iraq with resolution 1483 (2003). For a considerable period of time prior to that much importance was given to this question, and impressive work has been carried out by the Organization in the humanitarian field and in the implementation of the oil-for-food programme.

Immediate humanitarian needs are largely being met in Iraq today. However, there are still outstanding requirements; and more are emerging, particularly in regard to internally displaced persons. The plight of refugees, as highlighted by the recent welcome visit of High Commissioner Lubbers, also needs to be resolved in a measured but comprehensive fashion. Funding for humanitarian requirements in Iraq has, for the most part, been generously provided. Of the $2.2 billion requested in the latest humanitarian appeal launched by the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), almost $2 billion has been pledged or contributed. As the Council knows, of that amount $1.1 billion was provided through the oil-for-food programme, as authorized by resolutions 1472 (2003) and 1483 (2003). An additional $900 million has been provided through voluntary contributions. Nonetheless, additional needs remain largely unmet. The sectors of emergency rehabilitation, health and demining, including the disposal of unexploded ordnance, require particular and urgent support.

With respect to the oil-for-food programme, given the sheer scale of that programme, its completion by 21 November 2003 was always going to be a challenge. With a coordinated and determined effort on all sides, it should nonetheless prove possible. But needs will continue to exist far beyond the handover of the programme, that is, until the economy picks up and reliance on humanitarian assistance declines.

In the centre and south, good cooperation has been established between the Coalition Provisional Authority, the Iraqi line ministries and relevant United Nations agencies. Work is well under way on the prioritizing of contracts. However, it should be noted that the number of contracts being adopted is much higher than initially envisaged because the humanitarian phase has been superseded by rehabilitation and recovery activities much more quickly than anticipated. In the coming weeks, as the elements of the reconstruction plan for Iraq and the 2004 national budget are firmed up in advance of the donors' conference, we can expect that the process already under way will require some fine-tuning.

In the particular case of the three northern governorates, the Coalition Provisional Authority has proposed that the United Nations transfer programme implementation to the Iraqi authorities at both the regional and the central levels, with the Authority providing support and advice at a senior level. We are preparing a strategy for implementing this handover for discussion with the Governing Council and the Authority.

With respect to reconstruction, looking to the future, there are clearly immense reconstruction needs in the short and longer terms, not only as a consequence of the conflict but, maybe even more so, as a consequence of 13 years of sanctions and subsequent neglect and decay. As reflected in resolution 1483 (2003), this reconstruction is not only of a physical nature; it must also include public administration, governance, civil society and all the other vital elements required for a new Iraqi society.

To deal with the diversity and complexity of the situation, from the first day of my time in Iraq I have had in my team representatives from the United Nations Development Programme, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, who have

provided advice to me, as well as to the Iraqis and Authority counterparts. Building on the experience acquired by the United Nations agencies, funds and programmes that have been active in Iraq for years, it has been a superb success and a model of coordination and true integration of United Nations efforts. I thank all the institutions involved for their contribution to this effort. It should become the template for such operations in the future.

At the informal meeting hosted by the United Nations in New York on 24 June — in which some Council members participated, together with an Iraqi-led delegation — the international community expressed clear support for such a reconstruction effort. For that reason, the United Nations, together with the World Bank, is carrying out a number of sectoral needs assessments over the coming months which, in consultation with the Governing Council, will inform a donor conference to be held in the autumn on what Iraq's reconstruction priorities should be.

It will not surprise members to hear that one area in which I am taking a particularly keen interest is that of human rights. There are three particular concerns: how to deal with past abuses; how to ensure that human rights are protected for all Iraqis in the future, with particular emphasis on the rights of women; and how to ensure that human rights are protected and upheld in Iraq today. All merit close attention.

The human rights violations of the past regime in Iraq are well known to all. What is perhaps not so clear is their scale, for that is still emerging. What does seem to be becoming appallingly apparent, however, is that those victims who suffered the ultimate violation – the abuse of their right to life – number in the several hundreds of thousands. One can reasonably suppose that the unlawful incarceration, torture and ill treatment of others took place to at least as horrific an extent.

It is for the people of Iraq to determine how to deal with those challenges. How effectively they do so will significantly affect the extent to which they will be able to achieve harmony for their future. Equally, how effectively they deal with the past will go a long way towards ensuring that such egregious crimes will never again be possible. The past and the future, as always, are inextricably linked.

Many of the issues that are being discussed, in particular the past crimes inflicted on the Iraqi people, will be painful and complex for the people of Iraq to address. Given that, and given the gravity of the crimes in question, I believe there is much merit in considering the establishment of a mixed Iraqi and international panel of experts to consider in detail the options that would best suit Iraq.

The United Nations will continue to facilitate dialogue on those issues and, together with my office in Geneva, lend our experience where required. We also look forward to a visit in the near future by the Special Rapporteur of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights on human rights in Iraq, Mr. Andreas Mavrommatis. I urge the Governing Council to pay particular attention to developing a national human rights action plan to enable Iraqis to deal with the myriad human rights issues in a coordinated and comprehensive manner, including through the possible establishment of an independent national human rights institution. The forthcoming constitutional discussions offer a unique opportunity for integrating such human rights concerns in the elaboration of Iraq's new fundamental law.

Access to information is a major problem for Iraqis today. Currently, there is no national mass media capacity that is seen to be independent, objective and comprehensive. After being denied that right for so long, Iraqis are keen for change. I thus intend to explore with the Iraqi media, as well as with the Governing Council, the possibility of assisting — as we have done elsewhere — in the establishment of a national, independent and impartial news radio station, together with international donors and non-governmental organizations. Clarity and certainty of information will be essential if peace of mind is to be achieved and frustrations allayed.

Today, Iraq finds itself in an awkward situation: a post-conflict situation, but with hostilities occurring every day; awash with weapons, many legitimately present, many more not; and under military occupation. In this tense context, the protection of human rights inevitably becomes a concern. Iraqis have raised with me their current fears and anxieties in this regard, which the Secretary-General has reflected in his report. Likewise, human rights non-governmental organizations are playing a critical and helpful role in monitoring current developments.

I have raised with Ambassadors Bremer and Sawers concerns regarding searches, arrests, the treatment of detainees, the duration of preventive

detention, access by family members and lawyers and the establishment of a central prison database. They have been receptive and have provided me with responses on action being taken to address and resolve all those questions. Last Friday, with Ambassador Bremer and his senior colleagues dealing with the police and correctional services, I visited the main Iraqi detention complex at Abu Ghraib, which is currently under rehabilitation, as well as a nearby camp where detainees are temporarily being held. That afforded a further opportunity to review all such concerns with relevant officials.

In short, I have expressed the imperative need — and the Coalition Provisional Authority has agreed, of course — for the coalition forces to demonstrate through their actions the importance of exemplary compliance with international humanitarian and human rights law. Anything less must not prevail in today's Iraq.

(*spoke in Spanish*)

By way of summing up, let me make the following comments on what remains to be done and how the United Nations might help.

First, I believe that the Governing Council possesses credible executive authority and that it is broadly representative of the various constituencies existing in Iraq.

Secondly, for it to succeed, the Governing Council will need the full support of the international community and of the Iraqi people, whose trust and respect it will need to earn anew each day. It must be empowered to deliver tangible improvements to the welfare of the population while not becoming the object of criticism because of the legal obligations of the Coalition Provisional Authority in the current situation.

Thirdly, there will need to be a clear timetable, laid out as soon as possible, for the earliest possible restoration of Iraqi sovereignty. I have stressed that point before, but it is worth repeating. Iraqis need to be aware that the current stage of affairs will soon come to an end. They need to know that stability will be restored and that the occupation will end. The articulation of a clear timetable with definite milestones will afford them that comfort and will contribute to stabilizing the situation.

Fourthly, I believe that we have reason to be optimistic about the future of Iraq. But we have little margin for error. The situation remains fragile. Iraqis know better than anyone how, when and at what pace to proceed in their own country. Our greatest contribution will be to follow their lead and, when necessary, to assist them in achieving consensus among themselves. Finally, as I mentioned earlier, the Authority must exercise its leadership to provide security and restore law and order.

How can the United Nations help? Resolution 1483 (2003) provides considerable scope for the United Nations to play an effective role in Iraq. It is not a clear mandate, but at the same time the situation in Iraq is exceptional, and therefore it requires an exceptional approach. The lack of clarity allows for the United Nations role in Iraq to emerge and develop as the situation on the ground evolves. The report of the Secretary-General indicates a number of areas in which the United Nations can assist and proposes a structure that should be constantly reviewed as the oil-for-food programme comes to an end and as humanitarian activities wind down and reconstruction needs grow. During this new stage of United Nations participation in Iraq, particular attention will be paid to recruiting and developing the capacity of national staff.

In short, the report emphasizes that we must be flexible and able to respond quickly to calls for assistance when they arise. It also points out that implementation of the mandate will be a work in constant progress, with some guidelines that we will develop in the short term and others that will naturally emerge at a later date.

What the United Nations cannot do is replace the Coalition Provisional Authority. Nor should it ever replace the rightful role that Iraqis must play in shaping the future of their country. What the United Nations can do is help build consensus among Iraqis and between Iraqis and the Coalition Provisional Authority.

We have tentatively developed some areas of our programme of action. The reform of key institutions and the establishment of electoral and constitutional processes, for example, are essentially political undertakings with serious implications for the future of Iraq. It is therefore essential that the Iraqi population set the agenda and that the United Nations then support its implementation, as it may be required. For that

reason, much of our plan has yet to be written and will have to be discussed with the Governing Council.

Before the end of the year, it is the Secretary-General's intention, as indicated in his report, to put in place a team of experts under the overall coordination of his Special Representative. They will be able to respond effectively to requests for assistance that we have received and that we expect to receive. I wish to thank my colleagues and my team in the United Nations Office of the Humanitarian Coordinator in Iraq and the Secretariat for having ensured that these first weeks of our work under resolution 1483 (2003) have proceeded without major delays.

I wish to make a final comment. Many Iraqis with whom I have spoken have expressed a sense of betrayal: that the international community did not sufficiently recognize their plight. I believe that we owe a debt to the people of Iraq, and that the best way of honouring it is through our words and deeds and through our commitment to support the rehabilitation of their country now and in the future. As the Secretary-General said, the people of Iraq deserve no less.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Mr. Vieira de Mello for his comprehensive statement.

I call on Mr. Adnan Pachachi, the head of the delegation of the Governing Council of Iraq.

**Mr. Pachachi** (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, I wish to express deep gratitude to the Council for having invited us to participate in this historic meeting. My special thanks go to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, and to his Special Representative for Iraq, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, and their colleagues for their efforts regarding the situation in Iraq and the country's future. We shall take into account their valuable remarks and their constructive proposals.

It is indeed a great pleasure and honour for me and for my two colleagues, Ms. Aqeela al-Hashemi and Mr. Ahmad Chalabi, to appear before the Security Council on behalf of Iraq and the interim Governing Council, of which we have the honour of being members.

Our homeland has rid itself of the oppressive tyrannical regime that oppressed our people for three decades, usurped our freedom, eroded our dignity and exercised the worst forms of oppression, as demonstrated by the mass graves now being discovered across the country. Despite their ongoing suffering, frustration and oppression due to current security and living conditions, which have not improved as quickly as we had hoped, the people of Iraq have finally had a taste of the freedom that had been denied them for so many decades. The Iraqi people will never return to a society based on fear and injustice. Iraqi citizens can now express their views and articulate their aspirations freely.

A State marked by the intelligence services, mandatory arrests and random executions has ended, never to return. The Iraqi people consider our participation in this meeting to be clear and explicit recognition of Iraq's sovereignty, which the Council emphasized in the second preambular paragraph of its resolution 1483 (2003). The Governing Council was established as the embodiment of the nation's determination to preserve Iraq's sovereignty, safeguard its unity and territorial integrity, achieve a better future for its people and reconstruct its social fabric, following the disintegration of all values and social cohesiveness and the undermining of national unity in that dark era.

The Governing Council — which represents the full spectrum of Iraqi society and whose members have been chosen as a result of painstaking and extensive consultations among Iraqi personalities of various religious, ethnic and political affiliations — was assisted, during the intensive negotiations that preceded the formation of the Council, by representatives of the Coalition Provisional Authority and by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, in keeping with operative paragraph 9 of resolution 1483 (2003). We wish to place on record our sincere gratitude to all of them for their efforts.

Resolution 1483 (2003) did not set out in a clear and precise manner the functions of the interim administration. This flexibility in the scope of the resolution allowed a certain latitude for expansion of the powers of the Governing Council so that all aspects of government could be covered. All of our proposals in this regard have been fully responded to.

Our primary goal, which we will continue to bear in mind, is to shorten the duration of the interim administration period and put together an elected Government under a constitution to be endorsed by the population in free elections. The elections should be

open to all, and the people should be able to express their opinions freely.

The draft Constitution will be examined by a constitutional congress representing all political, social and religious groups. The Governing Council will prepare for that conference by determining the best way to ensure the participation of representatives and to take the necessary legislative action as well as other measures to facilitate its operations, including in the areas of electoral law, population census, electoral register, organization of political parties and other questions relating to freedom of expression and freedom of assembly. The United Nations, given its expertise and experience, could help us to draw up this legislation.

The Constitution, much-awaited by the Iraqi people, will put in place a democratic, pluralistic and federal system that safeguards people's basic rights; consolidates the rule of law in an independent judiciary system; ensures the peaceful handover of power through free elections; places the armed forces under the authority of the elected administration; and gives women full rights on the basis of equality.

In brief, we look forward to the creation of a civil society that believes in personal freedom as a premise for governance and rejects totalitarian systems, which have brought only misery and destruction to our people.

Let me touch on some of the pressing issues to be addressed by the interim Governing Council. This list, however, is not exhaustive.

First, there is a need to appoint ministers, to fill vacancies in Government agencies and ministries, and to appoint competent personnel who were not implicated in any crimes committed by the previous regime.

Secondly, Iraqi embassies abroad must be reopened so that they can carry out their regular functions. Representatives of foreign Governments must be received, and Iraqi representatives appointed to international organizations, first and foremost to the United Nations. Iraq will then work to improve relations with neighbouring Arab countries, its other neighbours and the international community at large.

Iraq will require tremendous assistance in all areas in order to rebuild its economy, modernize its industrial sector, reform its educational system, improve its sanitation services and provide basic necessities to all its citizens. There is no doubt in my mind that the United Nations and its specialized agencies will have an important and vital role to play in all these areas.

Thirdly, one of the primary functions of the Governing Council is to ensure security and stability and to establish institutions that can rebuild the national police and the national army and enable them to preserve stability and security in Iraq. The police and the army should be used to eliminate those destructive elements and saboteurs who continue to impede the national development process and to undermine the interests of the civilian population.

Fourthly, there should be a re-examination of the legislation enacted by the previous regime — legislation that enabled it to tighten its control over the country. The judiciary system, which was destroyed by the previous regime, should be reformed.

Fifthly, special tribunals should be constituted in order to bring to justice those who committed criminal acts under the former Iraqi regime, so that they will stand trial for their humanitarian crimes against the Iraqi people. Such tribunals will prosecute accused criminals. We have asked a special group of Council members to present proposals regarding the formation of these special tribunals.

Iraq's national economy must be revived, and projects must be undertaken that provide jobs for the unemployed; alleviate the poverty of a large segment of society, a large percentage of which is still living below the poverty line; promote justice and fairness in the distribution of national wealth; and consolidate political freedom as the economic situation improves.

We will work to ensure that every individual benefits from Iraq's tremendous national assets through the creation of a special fund, and we will ensure compensation for victims of forced displacement and for people whose property was confiscated by the bloodthirsty regime of Saddam Hussain.

The Governing Council has taken several decisions that will enable it to begin implementing this ambitious programme. With regard to security, the Council has decided to employ at least 30,000 Iraqi police officers, to train them, to provide them with equipment and to pay them adequately. The Council has decided also to establish, as expeditiously as

possible, at least 1,500 schools and clinics throughout Iraq.

Also in the context of the economy, all salaries, including back pay, will be paid, and we will start a programme to reabsorb more than 200,000 demobilized soldiers into the civil society employment sector, especially in the public works and construction sector. The Governing Council will examine the budget with a view to satisfying the needs of the population, reform the currency system and issue a new currency in order to provide citizens with purchasing power. The contribution of the United Nations and its specialized agencies in that endeavour will be extremely important.

The challenge that is facing us is enormous. The responsibilities of the Governing Council are many, difficult and diverse. The important responsibility borne by the members of the Council cannot be overstated. We need the Iraqi people to fully support us. We will have to demonstrate to them our credibility and merit if we are to lead them in this historic process.

Speaking personally, I would like to say that I am optimistic. The Iraqi people have demonstrated their ability to coexist in harmony and tolerance, and we will make every possible effort to overcome the difficulties that we face. We are counting on the support of the Council in restoring Iraq to its proper position within the international community.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Mr. Adnan Pachachi, head of the delegation of the Iraqi Governing Council, for his statement.

I shall now give the floor to the members of the Council.

**Mr. Wehbe** (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): We are delighted to see you, Madam, presiding over this meeting of the Security Council on the situation in Iraq. I should like to thank the delegation of Spain for its efforts to facilitate the convening of this important meeting. We are also pleased to welcome the Secretary-General, as well as his Special Representative for Iraq, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, and his team. I would like to inform him that Syria attaches enormous importance to the role that the United Nations is expected to play in Iraq in the framework of the implementation of the provisions of Security Council 1483 (2003), particularly in ensuring, as soon as possible, the restoration of Iraq's independence and sovereignty and its control over its natural wealth and resources.

The Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Vieira de Mello, visited the Syrian Arab Republic on 16 July 2003, when he had the opportunity to acquaint the leadership of the Syrian Arab Republic with the efforts that the United Nations is making in Iraq in order to restore security and stability and pave the way for democratic elections so as to establish an Iraqi Government that would restore Iraqi sovereignty, maintain Iraq's unity and end the occupation of its territory.

The President of the Syrian Arab Republic, President Bashar Al-Assad, made it very clear that, as a Member of the United Nations, as an elected member of the Security Council and as an Arab country neighbouring Iraq, Syria is genuinely concerned about Iraq's future, its independence and its territorial integrity. Syria holds dear the freedom, liberty and dignity of the Iraqi people. He stressed that Syria will support all steps taken by the United Nations leading to the end of occupation and to control by the Iraqi people of its own affairs.

The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic has examined the report of the Secretary-General (S/2003/715) — his first report to the Security Council pursuant to paragraph 24 of resolution 1483 (2003). In this regard, I would like to express our appreciation for the efforts being made by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, and his Special Representative, Mr. Vieira de Mello, and his team, to implement the provisions of resolution 1483 (2003) pertaining to the United Nations role in Iraq.

It is important to highlight some of the paragraphs of that resolution, which make up elements of the framework of the mandate of the Secretary-General's Special Representative — particularly those relating to the coordination of assistance for humanitarian purposes and reconstruction, as well as to efforts being made to restore and establish the necessary local and national institutions required for ensuring representative governance of the Iraqi people, including efforts made to assist in the process leading to the establishment of an internationally recognized representative Iraqi Government.

Our delegation has considered the aspirations and challenges facing the work of the United Nations and the international community in Iraq. Indeed, the

Secretary-General, in the very first paragraph of the report, as well as in subsequent paragraphs, states that the interests of the Iraqi people — especially the restoration, as soon as possible, of Iraq's sovereignty — is one of the most important elements. He also states that Iraqis have stressed to him that democracy cannot be imposed from outside, but that it must stem from the aspirations of the Iraqi people and their genuine choices. The delegation of Syria agrees in this respect with the Secretary-General and his Special Representative.

We would also like to express our appreciation to Mr. Vieira de Mello for the efforts that he has been making to end the suffering of the Iraqi people. They have suffered as a result of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council for well over a decade. We also agree with the comments of the Secretary-General in paragraph 20 of his report. He states: "Those Iraqis with whom my Special Representative has met have emphasized that Iraqis themselves must conduct the constitutional process ...". That is, indeed, correct. That paragraph also states that Iraqis feel strongly that the constitutional process should be determined by elections.

Furthermore, the substance of paragraph 23 of the report deserves attention and support. That paragraph states that the Authority ought to "devolve real executive authority to a broadly representative and self-selecting Iraqi leadership, including in policy- and decision-making, and in the preparation and execution of a budget".

The report also takes up the formation of the interim authority in Iraq in the current situation. My delegation wishes to stress that the Governing Council should work in accordance with the wishes of the Iraqi people by strengthening national unity, speedily establishing an elected national Government and ending the occupation as soon as possible. Any assessment of the actions of that Council will be based on the steps it takes to serve the Iraqi people and to maintain relations of good-neighbourliness with its neighbours and brothers.

The Secretary-General's concluding observations in his report are fully in line with the role of the United Nations and views thereon, particularly when he cites his Special Representative as conveying to all concerned

> "the Security Council's resolve that the day when Iraqi's govern themselves must come quickly" (*ibid., para. 105*)

and as stressing

> "the Security Council's call for a government based on the rule of law that affords equal and justice to all Iraqi citizens without regard to ethnicity, religion or gender". (*ibid.*)

We cannot but agree with the conclusions of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, expressed later in the report, with respect to the importance

> "that Iraqis are able to see a clear timetable leading to the full restoration of sovereignty" (*ibid., para.107*)

and stressing the

> "pressing need to set out a clear and specific sequence of events leading to the end of military occupation". (*ibid.*)

Allow me also to thank the Special Representative once again for his readiness to assist in establishing such a framework in cooperation with all parties concerned.

As to the "regional dimension" referred to in paragraph 108 of the report, we believe it to be extremely important. It is, indeed, thus described in the report. It is essential that cooperation be established with Iraq's neighbours, as the Secretary-General emphasizes, because Iraq cannot be isolated from its brothers or neighbours. We convey our appreciation once again to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for all their efforts in that regard.

Our brothers, the people of Iraq, who are linked to Syria by ties of geography, blood, history, culture and common interests, have experienced many years of darkness. They are well aware that Syria stood by them in their time of suffering and that their pain was ours. For decades, Syria has hosted tens of thousands of Iraqis victimized by oppression, repression and the consequences of siege. On the occasion of this Security Council debate on the situation in Iraq, Syria today reiterates its expression of concern for the future, independence and territorial integrity of Iraq and the freedom and dignity of its people.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic for his words of appreciation for my country.

**Mr. Zhang Yishan** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): At the outset, I welcome you, Madam, and thank you for your personal presence in New York to preside over today's important meeting.

The Chinese delegation wishes to thank Secretary-General Kofi Annan for his recent report on Iraq and for the supplementary briefings which he and his Special Representative, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, delivered earlier.

We listened attentively to the Secretary-General's statement, which drew a very clear picture of the current situation in Iraq and the aspirations of the Iraqi people and provided a concise summary and explanation of what should be done in that country. It reflected his usual wisdom and vision, and I wish to place on record my highest appreciation of and support for it.

I also wish to thank Special Representative Vieira de Mello and his team for their efforts and hard work. We also acknowledge the statement made by the representative of the Iraqi Governing Council, Mr. Pachachi.

Over the past two months, Mr. Vieira de Mello, acting under the mandate of Security Council resolution 1483 (2003), has opened extensive contacts with various Iraqi sectors and other relevant parties and has heard their views on the reconstruction of their country. He has provided us with important information for a comprehensive and objective understanding of the situation in Iraq and of the aspirations of the Iraqi people.

In his report, the Secretary-General has made many useful recommendations for the way forward. We highly appreciate the valuable contributions of the Secretary-General and Mr. Vieira de Mello. I wish to reiterate that the Chinese Government shall continue to support them in implementing recent Security Council resolutions.

In the Secretary-General's report and the supplementary briefings given by him and Mr. Vieira de Mello, three points in particular have drawn our attention.

First, the Iraqi people ardently hope to see their sovereignty and self-government restored as soon as possible. Secondly, the security situation in Iraq remains unstable and economic reconstruction will be an arduous and long-term task. Thirdly, the United Nations can and should play an active role in the course of reconstruction. China wishes to state its views with particular focus on these areas.

First, we fully understand the powerful aspirations of the Iraqi people to being masters of their own country. We wish to see the earliest possible formation of a broadly representative interim administration, supported by the Iraqi people. We favour the early launching of a constitutional process run by and for Iraqis. The Iraqi Governing Council was established a week ago. We welcome this development and share the Secretary-General's view that

> "it is important that Iraqis are able to see a clear timetable leading to the full restoration of sovereignty". (*S/2003/715, para. 107*)

We look forward to the day when Iraq will be reintegrated into the international community with a new look as an independent and sovereign member pursuing a policy of good-neighbourliness.

Secondly, we are deeply concerned about the security situation in Iraq and its negative effects on the restoration of normal life for the Iraqi people and on the international humanitarian relief endeavour. Achieving security and stability in Iraq is undoubtedly a very important and urgent task. Security is closely linked to reconstruction and development. We hope that, with the efforts of the parties concerned, law and order in Iraq will be restored and the security situation will be improved as soon as possible.

After suffering from years of economic sanctions and the scourge of war, Iraq now faces the arduous and complex task of reconstruction. An effective response to those challenges requires the extensive participation and support of the international community. In that regard, the forthcoming international conference on Iraq's reconstruction, which is scheduled for October, is of important significance. We wish the conference fruitful results.

Thirdly, we are in favour of an active and effective role for the United Nations in Iraq's political process and economic reconstruction. Security Council resolution 1483 (2003) has established a good

foundation for this effort. The resolution also reflects the international community's consensus. It should therefore be fully implemented. As pointed out by the Secretary-General, the legitimacy and impartiality of the United Nations is a considerable asset in promoting the interests of the Iraqi people. The recommendations put forward by the Secretary-General in his report with regard to the future role to be played by the United Nations in Iraq's reconstruction are timely and highly important. The Council should give them due attention and careful consideration.

I would like to reiterate that China has always attached importance to Iraq's reconstruction. China was one of the first countries to give humanitarian assistance to Iraq. We will continue to render support to the Iraqi people within our capabilities. We are prepared to work with other members of the international community to help the Iraqi people in their reconstruction efforts and to ensure early achievement of national stability and development.

The Iraqi people have a long history and an ancient culture. Their country is a cradle of civilization. The hard-working, courageous and talented people of Iraq have made important and remarkable contributions to human development in all historical periods. We are confident that — although they face a situation fraught with extremely arduous, complex and difficult challenges — the great Iraqi people will, by their own hand and through their own wisdom, add new chapters of peace, stability, development and prosperity to their history.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the representative of China for his kind words addressed to me.

**Mr. De La Sablière** (France) (*spoke in French*): I would like to begin by welcoming you, Madam President, and by saying how pleased we are that you have agreed to preside over this important meeting. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his detailed and informative report on the situation in Iraq (S/2003/715) and on the work of the United Nations on the ground pursuant to resolution 1483 (2003). I would also like to warmly thank Special Representative Sergio Vieira de Mello and his entire team, who are working in particularly difficult circumstances. I also wish to welcome Mr. Adnan Pachachi, Ms. Aqila Al-Hashemi and Mr. Ahmed Chalabi, who are members of the recently established interim Governing Council. We have listened very carefully and with great interest to the statement made by Mr. Pachachi, who heads the delegation of the interim Governing Council.

As French Foreign Minister Dominique de Villepin has publicly stated several times in recent days, the position of France is well known, as is the position of the European Union, which was made known yesterday during the Foreign Ministers' meeting of the European Union's General Affairs and External Relations Council. I would simply like to recall a few main points here.

What are our goals? France wants to see the successful political and economic reconstruction of Iraq. Like the Secretary-General, we are convinced that the solution is political rather than military. We want a swift restoration of Iraqi sovereignty. The people of Iraq — who have been left exhausted by two wars, a dozen years under sanctions and decades of political repression and violations of human rights — have suffered enough. It is incumbent upon the international community to help Iraqis once again become masters of their own future, as well as of their resources, without delay.

In that regard, the recent establishment in Baghdad of an interim Governing Council having certain executive and budgetary powers is a first, positive step towards the establishment of a representative and internationally recognized Government to be established by the Iraqi people. Like the Secretary-General, France believes that this body is a partner with whom the United Nations and the international community should be able to work as a first element of Iraq's provisional administration, whose establishment is called for in paragraph 9 of resolution 1483 (2003). The first step must be completed and the process of national and regional dialogue must continue. We welcome the active role played by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in setting up the Council. That is something everyone has appreciated.

How are the goals to be achieved? France fully supports the approach taken by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, in particular with regard to the following five points.

First of all, we agree fully with the Secretary-General's analysis and proposals regarding the political transition, as well as with his resolve to work on respect for human rights as a matter of priority.

Promoting human rights and the rights of women must be at the very heart of the work on State and national reconstruction. The recommendations to draw up a road map and a clear timetable are very relevant, and they should be pursued. The people of Iraq need a visible and credible political prospect in order that they may regain hope and be able to mobilize constructively to ensure a successful political transition. As the Secretary-General has said, "There is a pressing need to set out a clear and specific sequence of events leading to the end of military occupation". (*S/2003/715, para. 107*)

Secondly, we also fully support the approach pursued by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative. That approach is based on inclusive dialogue at the national and regional levels. Only an inclusive approach at the national level will make possible the emergence of a sovereign Government that is legitimate and representative of all Iraqi society, as well as pluralistic and respectful of the rights and freedoms of all. Moreover, as the Secretary-General has stressed, the regional dimension is of great importance. Only a process that involves Iraq's neighbours will make it possible to ensure the emergence of a Government that is accepted and recognized. That is essential to stability in the region.

Thirdly, we agree with the statement made by the Secretary-General on the distribution of roles between the United Nations and the coalition within the framework of resolution 1483 (2003). Within that limited framework, it is the Coalition Provisional Authority and not the United Nations that is given the responsibility for administering Iraq, ensuring the well-being of its population and restoring security and stability in the country.

Fourthly, we fully support the various proposals made by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for the gradual development of the responsibilities of the United Nations. In particular, we support the creation of a United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq and the implementation of a work programme for the remaining part of this year focused on the facilitation of the political transition, the promotion of human rights, humanitarian assistance and the orderly conclusion of the oil-for-food programme. We believe that those activities should be gradually broadened, as the Secretary-General proposes, to include a truly central role for the United Nations in the conduct of the political dialogue and the preparation of a new constitution. That broadened role should also lead to active participation in technical assistance for reform, whether in the area of electoral assistance, the establishment of rule of law or the judicial, administrative and public service sectors. We believe that only the United Nations has the legitimacy, impartiality and expertise necessary for ensuring the effective rehabilitation of the State. It is essential to preserve their independence, which is the guarantee of legitimacy. As the Secretary-General has proposed, the United Nations can also provide excellent counsel for carrying out the demobilization and reintegration of former soldiers, which is crucial for the sustainable stability of the country.

Fifthly, we encourage the Secretary-General to assume an ambitious approach to the role of the United Nations in the process of the economic and financial reconstruction of Iraq. The increased mobilization of the international community involves promoting the transparency of the financial, commercial and economic mechanisms currently being established. We think it is essential that the future International Advisory and Monitoring Board of the Development Fund for Iraq really has the role foreseen for it in resolution 1483 (2003) and has the real power to verify that the Iraqi oil resources are used in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 13 and 14 of resolution 1483 (2003). We believe that it is equally important that the orderly conclusion of the oil-for-food programme is carried out transparently and efficiently, without discrimination with respect to suppliers. We hope that donor efforts will take place within an appropriate multilateral framework. We support the holding of a donors' conference in October and the idea of creating a special multilateral fund, managed collectively under the aegis of the United Nations Development Programme and the international financial institutions. Finally, it seems essential to ensure that the launching of the process of economic reconstruction, including the rehabilitation of the petroleum sector, is carried out in full respect of relevant international law, in particular the Geneva Conventions and the Hague Regulations.

Resolution 1483 (2003) made it possible to regain the unity of the Security Council. But that resolution remains an imperfect and limited framework. France remains convinced that everyone will benefit from establishing a genuine international partnership and a global approach to the security, political, economic and

social problems that places the United Nations right at the centre of the reconstruction process. We note with interest that the debate and reflections are starting to point in that direction. Prolonged instability and insecurity in Iraq would be harmful for all. We are concerned at the current situation, which has caused the saddening death of American and British soldiers. Winning the peace is in the common interest of Iraqis, the countries of the region, the coalition and the international community as a whole. France will continue, vigilantly and in an open and constructive spirit, to shoulder its responsibilities as a member of the Security Council. The Iraqi people can count on our sense of responsibility and our concern to help reconstruct and rehabilitate their country.

**Mr. Muñoz** (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): I wish to welcome the presence among us of the Spanish presidency and the Secretary-General and to convey my delegation's gratitude for the detailed briefing on the work carried out by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello. We have listened attentively to the briefings made on the various aspects of the United Nations participation in the reconstruction of Iraq and on the general situation in the country.

The international community has much to contribute to Iraq's development, without, however, losing sight of the responsibility and the primordial right of the country's people in the reconstruction of its political future and the control of its territory and natural resources. For that reason, my delegation fully concurs with the statement by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on the need for Iraq to recover its sovereignty as early as possible, on the basis of a clear and specific timetable.

We believe that it is essential to instil a sense of urgency for laying the foundation for a system of free, democratic and representative Government in Iraq that ensures equal opportunity among its citizens, regardless of race, religion, sex or political beliefs, the establishment of a new economic model that ensures development, based on private initiative; an independent, autonomous and competent judicial system; and a legal regime ensuring the broadest freedom of expression, among other important aspects.

We have taken due note of the establishment of the Governing Council of Iraq and of the statement made before the Council by Mr. Pachachi. We believe that the establishment of the Governing Council in Iraq is a step that should lead to the full restoration of national sovereignty to the Iraqi people. We therefore welcome the appointment of that new executive body, which, although it has not received international recognition, may serve as a tool for involving Iraqi society in the responsibilities of Government and represent a forum for political understanding among the various sensibilities existing in the country. In that regard, we would like to see growing levels of participation in the process of national reconstruction. We particularly welcome the participation of women in the Governing Council; it is a clear sign of the new space opening up for women to participate in the modern Iraq of the twenty-first century.

We believe that a working group should be established as soon as possible to draft the new constitution. At the same time, it will be necessary to make the preparations to draw up an electoral roll so that the Iraqi people will be able to adopt, through a referendum, their new constitution and subsequently to elect the new national authorities.

My delegation is very concerned about the humanitarian and security situation of the Iraqi people: the ongoing lack of basic services, such as the provision of electricity and fuel; the sense of insecurity seen in the streets; and the violent acts by sectors that still do not understand that the political situation in that country has changed. Therefore, we would like to emphasize this point, as well as the need for in-depth restructuring of the national production system and other pressing challenges that will require immediate measures and time for their results to be seen.

The dramatic drop in national income is today evident in that the population now receives one third of the income it did a little more than a decade ago. Furthermore, almost 80 per cent of the population lives in poverty. For those reasons, the need to change the inefficient system of production is clear. We thus support the efforts being made in collaboration with the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme.

The human rights violations committed by the past regime are a painful burden that must be addressed. We appreciate and support the work of United Nations in the field. The extensive and well documented list of human rights violations does not end with the 290,000 forced disappearances and the

growing number of mass graves that have begun to emerge. Perhaps that is only the beginning. Those and other situations will require a long investigative process in the framework of the administration of justice in Iraq.

Despite that, the new Iraqi political authorities must be the ones to decide how to approach those and other painful facts of the recent past. Responsibility for the crimes committed by the previous regime must be established, hopefully soon, within the framework of due process, effectively and on the basis of independent judgement.

To that end, we believe that, as part of its activities in the field, United Nations support for the reform and proper administration of the judicial system will be a priority, along with support for the establishment of national courts to promote and enforce human rights. We note with satisfaction that the first measures have already been adopted in that regard.

The matter of displaced persons under the past regime, together with that of refugees, is particularly complex. In that regard, it is necessary to develop clear and timely policies in order to avoid future conflicts. Here, the United Nations can make a valuable contribution based on its broad experience.

Regarding the oil-for-food programme, which by resolution 1483 (2003) was extended until 21 November 2003, after hearing the briefing, I think that we must pay tribute once again to the Secretariat for the work it is doing, which has made it possible to avoid a major humanitarian disaster by providing the necessary assistance. We also hail the work of United Nations bodies to ensure the orderly and gradual transfer of programme responsibilities to the Coalition Provision Authorities.

Finally, almost daily the media are reporting increasingly well organized incursions by armed groups, which together with acts of sabotage and vandalism are undermining the work of normalizing national life in Iraq.

The stabilization process in Iraq is not taking place with the speed that some perhaps anticipated when resolution 1483 (2003) was adopted. It will thus be necessary to continue with determination and patience, always with the goal of contributing to stabilizing and rebuilding Iraq, and even more important, of striving to effectively enhance the well-being of its suffering people and to help it gain its aspirations to greater freedom and greater social and economic progress.

**Mr. Gaspar Martins** (Angola): Allow me, first of all, to welcome you, Madam, back to New York and to the Council, as you preside over this very important, historic meeting of the Council. I welcome also the presence of the Secretary-General and, of course, the presence of Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello and of members of the Governing Council of Iraq, Mr. Adnan Pachachi, Mr. Ahmad Chalabi and Ms. Aqeela al-Hashemi. Their presence here is a clear demonstration of the Security Council's resolve to contribute effectively to meeting the immense challenges faced by the Iraqi people and to formulate strategies that will allow the Iraqi people to recover their national sovereignty and to build a future of progress and national concord.

We appreciate the Secretary-General's comprehensive report (S/2003/715), submitted to the Council, particularly because it addresses the important initiatives undertaken by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq with a view to fulfilling the commitments of the Security Council with respect to the very complex situation in Iraq. The overall approach outlined in the report of the Secretary-General to defining the role of the United Nations in Iraq reveals that the tasks ahead are immense and of great complexity. The yearning of the Iraqis for the early restoration of sovereignty and the underlying fact that democracy cannot be imposed from outside are important messages that the international community must take into due account and on the basis of which it must act.

We fully share the view expressed in the report regarding the extreme importance of the regional dimension of the Iraqi issue and regarding the necessity of working with Iraq's neighbours for the recovery and reconstruction of the country. In that connection, we commend the concrete steps outlined to us this morning by Special Representative Vieira de Mello regarding the contacts that have been made with leaders in the region.

The United Nations is particularly well suited to making a decisive contribution to meet the great challenges ahead, and we are confident that the experience of our Organization can be of decisive added value in addressing and helping to resolve the key priority areas of life in Iraq: ensuring future

stability; the political process itself; respect for human rights; the rule of law; national reconciliation; the development of civil society; and economic reconstruction.

The establishment on 13 July of the Governing Council represented a big step forward in the overall task of restoring Iraq to normalcy. The approach taken — one of inclusiveness and participation, reflecting the broad spectrum of Iraqi society — was a very positive one. The next important step is to delegate effective power to the Iraqi interim administration, allowing it to set policies and take decisions.

We encourage the Governing Council to appoint, as soon as possible, a constitutional commission in order to start drafting a fundamental law as a prerequisite for the recovery of the country's national sovereignty. It is clear that the provision of a constitution to the country will favour the beginning of an electoral process through which Iraq must recover, at an early date, its full national sovereignty.

We took note of the emphasis placed in the Secretary-General's report on the issue of human rights and the rule of law. The former Iraqi regime's human rights record gives the international community an added responsibility to address and resolve this important issue as a means to guarantee the respect of the Iraqi people's fundamental rights, which, in the past, were so clearly violated.

The eagerness of the legal community in Iraq — to which the Secretary-General's report refers — to see established the rule of law and the functioning of an independent legal system is fully understandable. In this regard, we welcome the establishment by the Governing Council of a judicial commission, while recognizing that international assistance will be required to support the efforts of the Iraqi people to ensure the credibility and impartiality of the judicial system itself.

Humanitarian assistance has been at the centre of the United Nations activities in Iraq. A large amount of resources has permitted the United Nations and its agencies to play a fundamental role in assisting the Iraqi people to overcome the difficulties imposed by sanctions, war and other barriers erected in the past.

Another positive development is the avowed intention of the Special Representative to ensure a smooth and integrated transition from humanitarian and emergency rehabilitation to economic recovery and reconstruction. Such an approach reflects positive realities and encourages us all in the belief that a better future awaits Iraq.

The economic reconstruction of Iraq, together with the political process leading to the recovery of national sovereignty, the respect of human rights and the rule of law, leading to the Iraqi people's sovereignty, is, according to our understanding, the third great challenge that Iraq and the international community will face. A great deal remains to be done to repair and rehabilitate the economy's physical infrastructure and in terms of the reduction of poverty and economic reform. We totally agree that, for a profound transformation of the economy to be successful, the goals set and methods used must be inclusive, command broad-based Iraqi political support and must have qualified Iraqis in the lead in the planning and management of Iraq's recovery.

In this connection, we welcome Special Representative Vieira de Mello's statement this morning, which reinforces and strengthens our confidence that this will, indeed, be the way to act. The Iraqis will be put at the helm of a ship sailing through rough waters but towards a very clear destination.

My delegation fully agrees with the stated focus of the United Nations actions in Iraq for the remainder of 2003, as well as with the areas which the Special Representative of the Secretary-General lists as the ones in which the United Nations could positively act and add value.

Let my express my delegation's agreement with the proposals formulated by the Secretary-General, in particular the structure of a proposed United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq, in the expectation that the Security Council will, in due time, start considering approval of such a proposal.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the representative of Angola for the kind words he addressed to the presidency.

**Mr. Negroponte** (United States of America) (*spoke in Spanish*): Madam President, I would like to welcome you back to New York again, the host city of the United Nations. We are very pleased that you yourself, in person, are chairing this extremely important meeting of the Security Council.

(*spoke in English*)

We welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, and we thank you for the thorough and comprehensive report that you have submitted to the Council on the subject of Iraq. We, of course, also welcome your Special Representative, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello and acknowledge his positive contributions. His work in Iraq and the work of the United Nations staff exemplify the vital role for the United Nations envisaged by President Bush and Prime Minister Blair in their Hillsborough statement.

I would especially like to welcome Mr. Adnan Pachachi, Mr. Ahmad Chalabi and Ms. Aqeela al-Hashemi, the three members of the Governing Council who are here with us today. For the first time in almost 50 years in Iraq, there is no limit on the freedom of expression in that country. In Iraq today, all shades of opinion have full freedom to compete in an open market of ideas. Their presence here is a powerful symbol of that freedom.

Two months ago today, the Council adopted resolution 1483 (2003), which created a forward path for the Coalition Authority and the United Nations on the ground in Iraq. Resolution 1483 (2003) affirmed our collective commitment to the free political development of an internationally recognized, representative Government of Iraq. Today, just two months later, the Iraqi people have made tremendous progress on the challenging transition to democracy with the formation of the 25-member Governing Council on July 13, nine days ago. As the Secretary-General noted in paragraph 107 of his recent report, the Governing Council provides a broadly representative Iraqi partner. For the first time in decades, there is a national political body that reflects the rich mosaic of Iraqi society.

The establishment of government by and for the Iraqi people, as envisaged in Security Council resolution 1483 (2003), is under way. The Governing Council deserves the full encouragement and support of the international community and especially of this body.

I note also that the Secretary-General's report emphasizes, in the same paragraph, the importance of establishing a clear timetable leading to full restoration of sovereignty. The Governing Council will play a leading role in determining the process for drawing up a new constitution and proceeding to democratic national elections. We anticipate that it will establish a preparatory commission to recommend a process by which a new constitution for Iraq will be prepared and approved. These are key milestones on the road to the internationally recognized, representative Government the Security Council envisioned in resolution 1483 (2003).

The role of women in Iraq's political development should not be overlooked. On 9 July, more than 70 women participated in a day of workshops, entitled "Voice of Women in Iraq". That event was organized by a steering group of Iraqi women, with assistance and participation by the Authority and the United Nations, including the United Nations Development Fund for Women, the United Nations Development Programme and the United Nations Children's Fund. The same steering group will publish the workshop recommendations on constitution and democracy, among a number of other issues.

This unfolding political process is opposed by some, and the undeniably fragile security situation is a clear manifestation of the minority of those who oppose political freedom. They are enemies of freedom and are threatened by visible signs of progress. But they will not prevail. President Bush has made clear that the United States, together with our coalition partners and others willing to join us in this important effort, is committed to establishing the conditions for security which will allow prosperity and democracy to flourish.

In this connection, I would recall that, in its paragraph 1, resolution 1483 (2003) appeals to Member States and concerned organizations to contribute to conditions of stability and security in Iraq, and we strongly encourage Member States to contribute stability forces under that resolution.

The security situation in Iraq is unquestionably complex. The coalition's approach to establishing security in Iraq is multifaceted, including enabling the Iraqis to ultimately provide for their own security. The coalition has moved quickly to establish Iraqi police forces, and shortly it will begin recruiting, vetting and training the first members of the new Iraqi army. Security forces for ministries and for other purposes — for example, port security — are being screened, hired and trained.

In addition to the indispensable elements of security and political freedom, Iraq must achieve

economic growth and development. Political progress will be empty of meaning if the people of Iraq cannot provide for their own livelihood.

Resolution 1483 (2003) appeals to Member States to assist the people of Iraq in their efforts to reform their institutions and rebuild their country. The preparations under way for an international donors' conference later this year will allow the international community to meet this challenge and help to rebuild Iraq. We reaffirm our commitment to the international community to implement resolution 1483 (2003) in a transparent manner. Together, we must promote economic activity on an urgent basis, including the revitalization of the oil industry, the judicious use of oil revenues and other foreign exchange and the development of a free market economy. Iraq is blessed with vast natural resources and human potential. The challenge is to create the conditions for Iraq's potential to be realized, setting the Iraqi economy on the path towards sustainable growth and establishing a strong momentum towards an open market economy, while keeping in place a social safety net.

The coming weeks and months will be full of challenges as well as — to be sure — difficulties. The opportunity now exists for the Iraqi people to create the conditions for a stable, prosperous and democratic Iraq, and we must help them to meet that challenge.

**Mr. Pleuger** (Germany): Allow me, first of all, to welcome you, Madam, to this important meeting and to thank you for presiding over it.

I warmly welcome the presence of the Secretary-General; we are grateful for his important remarks at the beginning of the meeting and, in particular, for his recent comprehensive report on Iraq (S/2003/715). Furthermore, I should like to thank the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for his briefing on his activities and for the views he expressed about the way ahead in post-war Iraq. I should also like to express my appreciation for the tireless efforts already made by Mr. Vieira de Mello, and by Mr. Ramiro Lopes da Silva as the Humanitarian Coordinator, and all of their staff, for the dedicated manner in which they are carrying out their tasks in often difficult and sometimes dangerous circumstances.

Finally, I should like to welcome the presence of the representatives of the Governing Council. My Government has already welcomed the creation of the Governing Council as an important first step towards the formation of an internationally recognized representative Government established by the people of Iraq.

We are pleased to note that Mr. Vieira de Mello played an active role in the process of the creation of the Governing Council and that his advice has been favourably received by the Authority, as confirmed by the Secretary-General. We also acknowledge that the Governing Council is broadly based — composed of many groups of the Iraqi people — and may provide the international community with an Iraqi partner with whom it can engage. It is in this sense that we encourage the Governing Council to assume its responsibilities and to lay the groundwork for the convening of a constitutional conference. However, the most important decision — whether the Governing Council is accepted as the legitimate transitional representation of the Iraqi people — will have to be taken by the Iraqis themselves in the coming weeks and months.

Germany welcomes the overall approach and structure for the United Nations presence in Iraq as proposed by the Secretary-General in his latest report. We support the establishment of a United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq, with a comprehensive scope of responsibilities. We note that the Secretary-General puts a wide range of assistance measures at the disposal of the Iraqi people upon their request, some of which go beyond the tasks described resolution 1483 (2003). With regard to the current discussion about the possibility of a new Security Council resolution on Iraq expanding United Nations responsibilities, I should like to point out that Germany would welcome and support such an approach in order to enable those States that wish to contribute to the reconstruction of Iraq under the auspices of the United Nations to do so. My delegation has always — in particular, during negotiations on resolution 1483 (2003) — advocated a strong United Nations role in the post-war scenario in Iraq.

We fully concur with the Secretary-General's assessment that the forthcoming constitutional and electoral processes will be of fundamental importance to the political transition envisaged in resolution 1483 (2003). We share his view that the United Nations, in coordination with the Authority, can make significant contributions in these sectors. United Nations involvement can confer legitimacy on the process. It

can also put at the disposal of the Iraqi people the wealth of experience and expertise accrued by the United Nations in such fields over the years.

We see an urgent need to improve the security situation as basis for progress in all other areas. We are very concerned indeed about daily reports of loss of life — among soldiers of the coalition and civilians alike — and the overall deterioration of the security situation in parts of Iraq. We understand that establishing a sufficient security environment is a challenging task, as remnants of the old brutal Saddam regime try to undermine stabilization and reconstruction efforts. We take it that the Authority is living up to its responsibilities according to international humanitarian law and as stated by Security Council resolution 1483 (2003).

The Secretary-General confirmed once again that, despite its oil wealth, Iraq will require considerable external assistance for the reconstruction of its economy. Germany stands ready to contribute its share. We have already allocated over $50 million in humanitarian assistance and Germany is the leading contributor to the European assistance programme. German companies stand ready to contribute to the rehabilitation of the Iraqi economy and infrastructure if their participation is welcome.

However, we believe that international support will be forthcoming to the necessary extent only if full transparency and international participation in the decision-making process are assured. That is the reason why we have been actively supporting the Secretariat in its efforts to grant a strong mandate for the International Advisory and Monitoring Board of the Development Fund for Iraq (DFI). It is our understanding from the negotiations of resolution 1483 (2003) that the Board will ensure that the funds of the Development Fund for Iraq are disbursed in accordance with paragraph 13 and for the purposes specified in paragraph 14 of that resolution — that is, for the benefit of the Iraqi people.

In this context, I should like to emphasize that Germany would also welcome the establishment of an adequate multilateral instrument through which the international community could channel its bilateral contributions. We believe that the creation of a separate international fund could dispel some concerns expressed by some members of the United Nations with regard to the DFI. However, full transparency and efficient coordination between these two funds will be needed to solicit adequate contributions from donor countries.

The Iraqi people was forced to live for decades under a brutal regime with a complete disrespect for even the most basic principles of human rights. The almost daily new discovery of mass graves is only the most apparent evidence of the atrocities committed by the Saddam regime. Against this backdrop, it comes as no surprise that the issue of transitional justice and accountability for past crimes is a frequently cited priority area. We believe that this issue has to be dealt with under genuine Iraqi ownership in order to be accepted as impartial by the people of Iraq. We therefore see an urgent need to build up -with the help of the United Nations — an Iraqi human rights capacity. In this regard, we welcome the convening of the first human rights conference in Baghdad three weeks ago by the Special Representative.

The interests of the Iraqi people should be the leading principle of all our activities. We should honour the unanimous hope of the Iraqis, as expressed during discussions with the Secretary-General's Special Representative, that the aspirations of the Iraqi people to govern themselves can be realized as soon as possible. It is true — democracy cannot be imposed from the outside; it has to come from within. Iraqis themselves must conduct the constitutional process. We are ready to effectively contribute to the establishment of conditions allowing all Iraqis to live in freedom, dignity and prosperity under a representative Government that will be at peace with its neighbours and an active member of the international community. We concur with the Secretary-General that it is important that Iraqis be able to see a clear timetable leading to the full restoration of their sovereignty. There is indeed a pressing need to set out a clear and specific sequence of events leading to the end of military occupation.

In conclusion, let me emphasize that the creation of a stable and democratic post-war Iraq and an early transfer of power to a legitimate Iraqi Government are our common objective. The success of political and economic reconstruction in Iraq is the common interest of the European Union — of which Germany is a part — the United States and the States of the region.

**Mr. Belinga-Eboutou** (Cameroon) (*spoke in French*): My delegation would like to thank you,

Madam, for having organized this important meeting, which is undoubtedly one of the most anticipated events of your presidency. Your personal presence at this meeting reaffirms your country's commitment to the systematic management of acute international crises.

In the same vein, my delegation wishes to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for his tireless involvement in seeking a resolution to the Iraqi crisis, including in this sensitive post-conflict phase. In clearly setting the course in his very wise opening statement this morning, he paved the way for our work this morning. Let us recall his closing remarks:

> "The challenges that await us in Iraq are enormous. Let us all do our utmost to rise to meet them." (*S/PV.4791*)

Cameroon welcomes the historic attendance at our meeting today of representatives of the new Iraqi interim administration. We warmly welcome them. The establishment of the Governing Council on 13 July marked in itself a crucial stage in Iraq's irreversible march towards a normal political and economic constitutional order grounded in freedom, democracy, pluralism, reciprocal tolerance and mutual respect.

I also wish warmly to welcome the return to the Council of Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello in his capacity as Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq. His appointment to that post on 27 May was a sign of the times. It is a herald of the Security Council's ever stronger and broader involvement in post-conflict management.

How could it be otherwise? The situation in Iraq remains a cause of major concern for international peace and security, for it is still explosive domestically and disturbing to the region. It is having an adverse effect on the world economy and on anti-terrorism activities. Indeed, the harmonious functioning of the Security Council itself has been touched by it.

Cameroon wishes to congratulate the Secretary-General on his report, submitted pursuant to paragraph 24 of resolution 1483 (2003). The report is particularly meaningful and evocative of the Iraqi people's desires and of what needs to be done in Iraq.

My country expresses its great appreciation to Mr. Vieira de Mello for the high quality, detail and lucidity of his briefing.

The report of the Secretary-General has just reminded us that the situation in Iraq is fraught with real challenges for all of us: the international community, here and now; the coalition; and, above all, the people of Iraq themselves. As the Secretary-General notes in his report, it is up to the people of Iraq, more than anyone else, to build their future.

My delegation welcomes the multidirectional dialogue that the Special Representative has begun with all the protagonists on the political, social and economic spheres in Iraq, including the officials of the Coalition Provisional Authority. At the very least, that consultation will guarantee that the end of the oil-for-food programme, on 21 November 2003, will take place in a smooth and coherent manner, even though the plan outlined in the report of the Secretary-General for future United Nations projects in the northern provinces in that regard contains some undefined aspects.

The Secretary-General devotes a good deal of space in his report to the prevailing insecurity in Iraq. On behalf of the three members of the Governing Council's delegation, Mr. Adnan Pachachi has described in great detail the detrimental impact of insecurity with regard to restoring essential basic services -- including water, electricity, fuel and health and hospital infrastructure. The lack of security also has a negative impact on the humanitarian situation, on the distribution of food and medicines and on the return of boys and girls to school.

A few weeks ago, during one of our recurring discussions on Iraq, my delegation noted the close and indisputable links that exist between taking charge of security and managing the humanitarian situation and Iraq's political future. We believe that it is clear that the pretexts employed by some to spread terror, death and desolation will simply vanish as issues of survival are resolved. That will especially be true if we are able to accelerate the process of having the Iraqi people resume responsibility for the conduct of the their affairs in the administrative, political, judicial and economic areas. The latter aspect — namely, the economy, which also encompasses reconstruction, economic reform and a recovery in productive activities, and therefore the creation of jobs -- remains the necessary precondition to any security solution or lasting policy. The administration, the army, the police, the oil sector and major construction projects all represent springboards to the rapid creation of jobs.

My delegation notes the fact that the recruitment campaign for the army began last weekend. If it is to be effective and credible, that effort should very soon be supplemented with a broad demobilization, disarmament and reintegration programme. The positive impact of such a programme on security and economic activity is unquestionable.

Generally speaking, Cameroon agrees with the suggestions contained in the report of the Secretary-General regarding the urgent measures to be taken in Iraq, as well as with the short- and medium-term objectives to restore peace in, and sovereignty to, Iraq so that it may be able to take charge of its own future, in particular by managing its huge resources for the benefit of its people, and by freely choosing its own leaders and form of Government. The measures envisaged pertain to transitional justice, respect for human rights and a heightened role for women in the political and development processes. Those seem to us to be key concerns that deserve the full support of the international community. With regard to the issues of transitional justice and human rights in particular, we believe these are key areas in which the United Nations should play a coordinating role, given the relevant experience it has acquired throughout the years. The contribution of civil society organizations in that regard would also be appropriate.

In that connection, I would like to commend Mr. Vieira de Mello for his initiative to hold a workshop in Baghdad three weeks ago on the subject of transitional justice. We were pleased to note the participation in the seminar of international experts and of representatives of humanitarian organizations and organizations promoting human rights. In addition, the workshop included the participation of many Iraqis.

The Governing Council's creation of a judicial commission was a notable decision. One wonders, however, what will distinguish that commission from the one created by the Coalition Provisional Authority.

My delegation would like to express its support for the mandate and format suggested by the Secretary-General for the future United Nations assistance mission in Iraq. Its size of 300 persons seems to us to be suited to the tasks envisaged. It is particularly important that over half its personnel be drawn from national human resources available in Iraq. That would be a good approach to ensuring an alternative, easier and faster takeover by Iraqis of the management of the areas covered by the United Nations Assistance Mission forIraq.

Nevertheless, it is clear to us that the Security Council will first have to undertake informal discussions about the best way for the United Nations to make a decisive contribution to solving the thorny issue of insecurity, which is currently having a critical impact on everything else in Iraq. Although, as currently projected, the Assistance Mission will not have a military or police component, it would be desirable for the approach selected not to close the door to such a possibility.

We have listened attentively to the members of the interim Governing Council through the statement delivered by Mr. Adnan Pachachi. They have come to thank the Security Council for its sustained and active support in recent decades, which represent the most difficult and trying period of their country's recent history. Above all, they have come to the Council to voice the hopes and expectations of the Iraqi people, as well as to ask the Council to help the Iraqi people to turn the page of their history prior to 8 April and to begin a new chapter of Iraqi history in which that country is democratic, prosperous and united in its diversity. May their appeal be heard.

Cameroon, for its part, reaffirms its full support for the Iraqi people. We encourage them to make Iraq what it once was, and should never have ceased to be. The world Iraq means water; thus Iraq is the country of water, and therefore of life.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the representative of Cameroon for the kind words he addressed to my country.

**Mr. Akram** (Pakistan): It is an honour and a pleasure to see you, Madame President, once again here with us in the Security Council to preside over this important meeting.

The importance of this meeting has been made obvious by the statements that we have heard from the Secretary-General, whose presence in the Council this morning we welcome, and from his Special Representative for Iraq, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello. Those statements have been made pursuant to Security Council resolution 1483 (2003).

We are happy to note that the United Nations operations in Iraq continue to serve as the eyes and ears of the international community. The incisive analysis

of the report of the Secretary-General (S/2003/715) and of the statements we have heard today reflect that adequately. We appreciate, in particular, Mr. Vieira de Mello's statement and would like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation for all the United Nations and related agencies that have worked in Iraq throughout the difficult days before resolutions 1472 (2003) and 1483 (2003) were adopted to continue to provide for the basic needs of the Iraqi people.

The civilizations of the Tigris and the Euphrates have over the millennia enjoyed close ties with the Indus valley civilization. The peoples of Pakistan and Iraq were bound by ties of history, faith, culture and close cooperation, in the days before repression and war afflicted that great and dynamic country. Throughout recent months, Pakistan has always been guided by the interests of the people of Iraq at every stage of the Council's deliberations. On 27 March, following the conflict, my delegation stated here that the principles that must guide the Council include the following: respect for the political independence, unity and territorial integrity of Iraq and its neighbouring States; the right of the Iraqi people to choose their own political destiny and form of governance in exercise of their right to self-determination; non-intervention and non-interference in their internal affairs; permanent sovereignty and control over their natural resources; respect for the religious and cultural traditions of the people of Iraq and the sanctity of holy places that are among the most venerated in the Islamic world; and the right of the Iraqi nation to economic and social reconstruction.

We believe that those principles remain the framework and the broad objectives that must continue to be promoted by the Security Council and the international community. We believe that the restoration of internal peace and stability in Iraq is in the interest of the Iraqi people, the countries of the region and the international community.

In Iraq today, there are enormous challenges: security, governance, restoration of basic services, reconstruction and justice. But, as in any crisis, those challenges are accompanied by opportunity: the opportunity to revive Iraq to its former potential and promise as a leading nation in the Arab, Islamic and developing world. The Iraqi people, who have suffered long, deserve no less.

Following the recent conflict, the Security Council has sought to realize those objectives. Resolutions 1472 (2003) and 1483 (2003) affirmed the basic principles of the policies that must guide all of us, including the Coalition Provisional Authority, in the process of providing humanitarian and other help to the Iraqi people and securing the earliest and full restoration of Iraq's sovereignty and political independence. The Secretary-General's report reflects developments from the perspective of the United Nations. We commend the efforts deployed in very difficult circumstances by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, his deputy and various United Nations agencies, particularly the World Food Programme — as noted by the Secretary-General in his report — which has reactivated the public food distribution system. That is no mean achievement, given the massive dependence of the Iraqi people on the public rationing system.

In his report, the Secretary-General has noted that the primary concern in Iraq remains the restoration of internal security, which is threatened mainly by organized and unorganized crime and violence. General lawlessness has resulted in the looting and sabotage of key infrastructure. Attacks by those who are presumed to be loyalists from the previous regime or opponents of the Coalition Provisional Authority are also impeding the stabilization efforts. In the words of the Secretary-General, "[The lack of security] ... affects every aspect of life in Iraq today in a fundamental way" (S/2003/715, para. 28). The establishment of internal security is a prelude to, and a precondition for, the normalization of the political, economic and social conditions in Iraq. We believe that in promoting such security, certain essentials must be borne in mind.

First, a strengthened indigenous mechanism is the sine qua non for halting looting and sabotage, which engender uncertainty and fear and prevent humanitarian operations and the rehabilitation of basic services.

Secondly, security operations need to be conducted in ways that are sensitive to the welfare and sentiments of the Iraqi people and sensitive to their cultural and religious values.

Thirdly, to move the popular sentiments in Iraq from suspicion to trust and from scepticism to hope, it is essential to expedite the process of transition to representative governance by the Iraqi people.

Security is, of course, the responsibility of the Coalition Provisional Authority. United Nations assistance in building and training Iraqi police and security forces can be promoted and enlarged under the provisions of operative paragraph 8 of resolution 1483 (2003). That resolution, as we noted on 21 May, also opens the door to the friends of Iraq to contribute to the welfare of the Iraqi people, including for the creation of an environment of peace and security in the area. Clearly, such contributions from Iraq's friends, who share common values with the people of Iraq, should be in response to the wishes and desires of the Iraqi people themselves.

Paragraph 9 of resolution 1483 (2003) envisaged the early creation of an Iraqi interim authority. In his report, the Secretary-General emphasized "[the] need for an Iraqi body, widely accepted as representative, to be established so that the key issues facing Iraq can begin to be addressed by Iraqis themselves" (para. 106).

Pakistan believes that the formation of the Governing Council is a welcome first step in the direction of returning governance and restoring sovereignty to the people of Iraq as soon as possible. We welcome the presence here of Mr. Adnan Pachaci, Mr. Chalaby and Ms. Aqeela al-Hashemi, members of the Governing Council, at our meeting today.

The Security Council, in its resolution 1483 (2003), expressed its resolve that the day when Iraqis govern themselves must come quickly. In that context, the Secretary-General has also indicated the need to set out a clear and specific sequence of events leading to the end of the military occupation of Iraq. The establishment of a recognized representative Government by the people of Iraq is the eventual destination of the political process envisaged in resolution 1483 (2003). The United Nations is well placed to assist the Iraqi people in this process. We hope that the Coalition Provisional Authority, in coordination with the United Nations, will chart a course of events leading up to the full and early restoration of Iraq's sovereignty. The United Nations engagement with the process would enhance its legitimacy and credibility in the eyes of the international community and, more importantly, in the eyes of the Iraqi people themselves.

The economic independence of the Iraqi people constitutes a fundamental element of their national sovereignty. The administration of Iraq's economic and natural resources is a trust that was given to the Coalition Provisional Authority under resolution 1483 (2003) as a temporary measure due to the exigencies of the situation. The administration of Iraq's resources must be transparent and consistent with the provisions of international law and resolution 1483 (2003). In particular, we would like to indicate that the Security Council, in paragraph 12 of resolution 1483 (2003), decided that the International Advisory and Monitoring Board would not only advise, but would also monitor the transactions of the Development Fund through its auditors. We hope that that consideration will be fully reflected in the revised regulations of the International Advisory and Monitoring Board.

Secondly, the provision of basic services has a direct and reciprocal relationship with the establishment of security. The Iraq oil-for-food programme has catered to the needs of the Iraqi people for many years. We need to consider how to retain the basic operational capacity created under the oil-for-food programme to deliver basic human needs and reconstruction requirements to the Iraqi people.

Iraq faces a gigantic task of economic and social reconstruction and rehabilitation. We believe that the United Nations is best suited to lead and to coordinate international efforts in this direction.

Pakistan has maintained that the Security Council, in its deliberations on Iraq, has broadly reflected the sentiments of the world's peoples. The Security Council and the United Nations have demonstrated extraordinary unity after the war to move the situation towards normalization. Resolutions 1472 (2003) and 1483 (2003) represented sincere endeavors on behalf of the Council and the international community to come together to protect and promote the interests of the Iraqi people. The Secretary-General and his Special Representative have already made a significant contribution to that end.

They must be provided full support for the realization of the ongoing tasks listed in paragraph 98 of the report and for exploring ways and means to broaden the contribution of the United Nations in the areas outlined in paragraph 99 of the report. Pakistan stands ready to extend all possible assistance and cooperation to the Iraqi people to realize their aspirations to maintain their unity, restore their sovereignty, regain control over their national

resources and re-establish relations of fraternity and friendship with all their neighbours and other States of the region.

**Mr. Gatilov** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Like other Security Council members, we are happy to see you, Madam President, presiding over today's meeting of the Security Council. We also wish to welcome the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for Iraq, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, and we welcome the members of the interim Governing Council of Iraq.

The Russian Federation attaches great importance to today's meeting of the Security Council. For the first time since the adoption of resolution 1483 (2003), the Security Council is conducting a comprehensive review of the situation in Iraq, which in all respects is still extremely complex. The manner in which the problems facing the country are dealt with will determine the future of the Iraqi people and stability in the Middle East region as a whole.

The priority task of the international community at this stage, as we see it, is to help the people of Iraq find a way out of the crisis. We believe that this will be possible only if there is respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Iraq and if Iraq is given the right to dispose of its own natural resources and wealth. We believe it fundamentally important that this is the very approach on which the Secretary-General's report pursuant to resolution 1483 (2003) is based. We agree with the conclusions and evaluations contained in the report. The Secretary-General's recommendations clearly identify those areas where the United Nations can make a contribution to achieving an Iraqi settlement.

The Russian delegation greatly appreciates the work of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General who, in a difficult situation, is seeking to resolve the tasks facing the United Nations there. We would stress that the successes achieved would have been even more impressive had appropriate security conditions been provided in Iraq to ensure the work of the international staff there. Without such security, carrying out the major tasks mapped out in the Secretary-General's report will be much more difficult.

It is clear that the problem cannot be resolved by military methods alone, without establishing a political process. Within that context, we regard the formation of the interim Governing Council of Iraq to be a step in the right direction, making it possible to implement one of the key provisions of Security Council resolution 1483 (2003), on the establishment of a representative interim Iraqi administration. But this has to be a transitional period leading to the establishment of a legally elected leadership of the country by the Iraqi people, which will be able to lead the country out of crises.

We agree with the conclusion in the report that the people of Iraq themselves must determine their own future. The international community, through the United Nations, is to provide them with assistance in attaining that goal. It is important that in contacts with the Iraqi political forces, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General focus on the need to establish a Government that is based on the rule of law and is able to ensure for all Iraqi citizens equal rights and justice, without distinction as to ethnic origin, religion or sex.

We fully agree with what is stated in the report about the need to develop a clear timetable setting out a sequence of events leading to the full restoration of sovereignty and the ending of the military occupation.

We approve of the broad contacts made by the Special Representative with Iraq's regional neighbours. The report quite rightly notes that the situation in Iraq has a very clear regional aspect to it, and that the kind of independent State Iraq becomes will depend to a large extent on its cooperation with the States of the subregion.

We commend the Special Representative for the work he has been doing in the area of the economic recovery of Iraq. It is important that representatives of the United Nations Development Programme, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank work alongside him.

We expect that proposed measures for the economic recovery of Iraq will help to raise the living standards of the people of Iraq, who have suffered so long from a very severe humanitarian crisis.

As the Council is aware, recently the economic viability of Iraq has been ensured almost primarily through the United Nations oil-for-food programme, which has helped the Iraqi people to survive. In this connection, I should like to note the need to continue United Nations involvement in resolving humanitarian problems in Iraq after the oil-for-food programme is phased out in late November.

The international community can and must provide comprehensive assistance to Iraq in reconstruction. The United Nations has broad experience and the necessary potential to do so. From this standpoint, we deem timely the proposal to establish the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq, and we agree with the parameters described in the Secretary-General's report.

Russia also considers it necessary, in developing resolution 1483 (2003), to consider in the Security Council the possibility of taking a decision on specific steps to enhance United Nations involvement in a post-war settlement and to supplement the mandate of the United Nations with the appropriate additional functions or tasks. This would be in keeping with our main goal, which is to deal with the challenges facing Iraq today. It is our hope that the international community will be able to develop agreed decisions that will make it possible to provide the necessary assistance to the people of Iraq.

Russia, which has past and present ties with the people of Iraq, is ready to continue making its contribution to normalizing the situation in Iraq, to its economic reconstruction and to ensuring that it enjoys full State independence.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for the kind words he addressed to me.

**Mr. Boubacar Diallo** (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): First of all, Madam, I should like to say how pleased my delegation is to see you presiding over this meeting. I should like also to thank the Secretary-General for agreeing to devote some of his valuable time to attending today's meeting, as well as for his very interesting introductory statement.

I should like also to welcome Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq, and to convey to him our deep appreciation for the commitment and competence with which he has been carrying out his delicate mission since he was appointed on 27 May last.

We would like also to thank Mr. Adnan Pachachi, Mr. Ahmad Chalabi and Ms. Aqeela Al-Hashemi for attending this very important meeting.

The report before us — a very comprehensive one — makes clear the scope and the difficulty of the task entrusted to the United Nations under paragraph 24 of resolution 1483 (2003). My delegation would like in particular to note the excellent work done in bringing together the various sectors of Iraqi society with a view to ensuring a smooth political transition, promoting respect for human rights, strengthening humanitarian assistance and helping in economic reconstruction in Iraq.

As we see it, the establishment of a broadly representative interim Government is one of the top priorities. We would therefore urge Iraqis of all orientations and all persuasions to work together to prepare a broad political programme in which they all can be involved.

The establishment of the interim Governing Council on 13 July last is part of that approach, and it is encouraging. The establishment of a constitutional commission charged with drafting a constitution supported by all Iraqis is an equally important aspect of the process that is now under way.

However important all of these goals are, they cannot be attained unless there is an appropriately supportive environment. The overall insecurity in the country is a source of major concern to my delegation in this connection. Unless there is an atmosphere of reliable security, no efforts can be carried out successfully. Moreover, the effectiveness of the contribution of the United Nations depends totally on such an atmosphere of security. As we know, insecurity persists, inter alia because of the uncontrolled circulation of all kinds of weapons and because of the current legal vacuum, to which urgent solutions must be found.

We believe that the many human rights violations of the past three decades justify the adoption of appropriate measures so that light can be shed on what has happened. We believe that this would help to promote national reconciliation and to lay the foundations for lasting development in Iraq.

As the report indicates, the serious humanitarian situation of the Iraqi people must be dealt with. Past sufferings and current day-to-day difficulties have increased the people's vulnerability. Given that situation, we urge the donor community to ensure that the financial resources pledged at the revised Humanitarian Appeal on 23 June last be made available as soon as possible, so as to meet the basic needs of the people.

We would like to thank the United Nations system and to non-governmental organizations working on the ground for the significant contribution they have made to improving the living conditions of Iraqis. We believe also that the reintegration of refugees, some 400,000 of whom are abroad, and of displaced persons, whose number is estimated at 1 million, are yet another topic to which we should devote our full attention.

We agree also that the cumulative impact of wars, international sanctions and a policy whereby the State was in total control have seriously damaged the Iraqi economy. We take note of the initial steps that have been taken, but it is clear that Iraq will need the assistance and expertise of the United Nations and of the international financial institutions in order to move to a market economy. This means that there must be a joint, long-term undertaking that focuses first of all on the establishment of an appropriate institutional and legal framework.

In conclusion, we would like to say that Iraq, which is currently at a crossroads, represents a tremendous undertaking that will require, in addition to the will and the efforts of its people, the continuing support of the international community support. There is no doubt that such a synergy will enable Iraq soon to put an end to recent nightmares and to regain its place in the community of nations.

**Sir Jeremy Greenstock** (United Kingdom): I, too, warmly welcome you back, Madam, and congratulate Spain, our European partner, on its handling of the presidency so far this month.

I want first to commend the very interesting and widely welcomed report presented to us last week by the Secretary-General, and to thank him for his brief but telling statement this morning. The United Kingdom is grateful, too, for today's presentation by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Sergio Vieira de Mello, whose work so far in Iraq has shown how valuable the input of the United Nations can be.

We are witnessing an already impressive United Nations effort across a range of activity on the ground in Iraq. European ministers yesterday expressed their confidence that the United Nations will continue to make an important contribution in Iraq, and reiterated their readiness to support the efforts of the Special Representative. The United Kingdom believes in an increasingly important United Nations role, and wishes to see that role extended along the lines proposed in the Secretary-General's report.

I warmly welcome the presence here this morning of Mr. Adnan Pachachi, Mr. Ahmad Chalabi and Ms. Aqeela al-Hashemi — members of the Governing Council — and I thank all three of them for their presentation through the experienced voice of Mr. Pachachi.

In line with resolution 1483 (2003), we need to ensure that the day the Iraqis govern themselves comes quickly. The Governing Council is the key element in the Iraqi interim administration, and the first step in a process that will lead back to an internationally recognized representative Government and an Iraq run by Iraqis in the interests of all Iraqis.

The Secretary-General's report welcomes the creation of the Governing Council and highlights the real powers it will have from the outset. The report also makes clear that the Governing Council will provide a broadly representative Iraqi partner with which the United Nations and the international community at large can engage. We agree that the subsequent process of constitutional reform should be owned by the Iraqis and that there should be a clear sequence of events leading to a fully representative Government as soon as possible. We hope that the Governing Council will soon come forward with ideas on that, and that the Coalition Provisional Authority will work closely with it in developing those ideas. Our function is to create conditions under which the Iraqi people can determine their own future, not to impose a blueprint or a timetable of our own. The role of the neighbouring countries and the region is especially important. The United Kingdom will encourage the fullest possible consultation and cooperation in this respect.

The British Government recognizes the special obligations on us as a Power in the Coalition Provisional Authority. We take the current security situation very seriously. Iraqis want and must have the rule of law established. We need to be clear that the minority of Iraqis who, with some outside assistance, are attempting to sabotage this prospect, are, as Mr. Pachachi has said, undermining the interests of the civilian population of Iraq. They will not succeed.

We also have to improve essential services and set the economy on a path of sustainable growth. We have been taking concerted and effective action in these areas in ways which Ambassador Negroponte has

already set out. We will go into more detail when, with the United States, we present our own comprehensive update to the Council within the next month, as requested in resolution 1483 (2003).

I want, however, to say a word today about the importance we attach to urgent progress on justice and human rights and on improving the role of women in society, both at national and local levels. Iraq suffered decades of brutality and political coercion during which its justice system was severely corrupted and distorted. We welcome the proposals to increase the United Nations role in aiding reform of the justice system and the protection of human rights. The international community has a key role to play in assisting Iraqis to re-establish a fair and transparent system of justice under which the rights of its citizens are properly protected. At the same time, we can help the development of a new culture in which human rights are always respected, rather than systematically abused.

The Coalition Provisional Authority is already fully engaged in the process of helping the Iraqis to re-structure their justice system. Much of our effort is focused on the practical issues of repairing courts, assessing which judges and prosecutors were too deeply implicated in the crimes of the Ba'ath party to be allowed to continue in office and setting up training for those that remain. It will be for the Iraqis to decide how they want to continue this work in the longer term. But there is much expertise in the United Nations and other international organizations in this area on which they can call and which we should be ready to provide.

One of the most difficult issues faced by any country which has suffered oppression and abuse is how to deal with the legacy of past crimes. Again, this will be a matter for the Iraqis themselves to decide. We look forward to seeing the product of the special group of the Governing Council mentioned by Mr. Pachachi this morning. Regrettably, there is no shortage of recent international experience in this field. The Authority has set up an office of human rights and transitional justice to help this process. It is working on collecting witness testimony, identifying missing persons, addressing property disputes and dealing with the examination of mass graves and the preservation of evidence.

There is a huge task ahead. New mass graves are being identified in Iraq practically every day. We have so far received reports of 115; more will be discovered. It has been estimated that they contain the bodies of over 300,000 victims of the Saddam regime. Helping Iraq deal with that grim legacy will take many years. A United Kingdom team of forensic experts has produced recommendations for the exhumation of mass graves and the preservation of evidence. We are about to send a second team to help coordinate what will need to be an international effort, and we hope that other Member States can send forensic teams to Iraq to assist. But in the longer term this will be a task for the Iraqi authorities. They will need training and technical advice, and that is a further area in which the international community has much to offer.

On the promotion of human rights, we again welcome and support the recommendations made by the Secretary-General, including on the provision of advice and assistance on capacity-building and training. The development of a strong civil society will be an important part of a new democracy. The United Nations Development Programme will have a valuable role to play. We welcome the decision of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to send human rights monitors to Iraq. The United Kingdom has allocated $650,000 towards funding these monitors, thus providing 60 per cent of the immediate start-up costs of deploying them and supporting their work.

In both these areas the Authority has been aiming to lay some of the groundwork for the development of sound judicial and human rights structures. It is a long-term and vital task in which the United Nations has a key role to play. But it is important that the Organization and the Authority work together effectively and in a coordinated way so that we can give the Iraqis the support that they need. Sergio Vieira de Mello's dual role is especially significant in this respect.

We fully support the comments of the Secretary-General on the inclusion of Iraqi women in the transitional, constitutional and political processes now under way in Iraq. They were, above all, the silent victims of the former regime. Now we should help them to find their voice. We supported at the ministerial level the women's conference in Baghdad on 9 July, at which a wide range of issues was discussed. This was a good start, but more needs to be done to encourage Iraqi women to organize and express themselves. We would urge the United Nations Development Fund for Women to continue its work in

Iraq and hope that it will be able to go ahead with its plans to host a national conference in the coming weeks. We have encouraged the leaders of Iraqi political and other groups to include women representatives at both the national and regional levels and we hope that these leaders will view this as an important part of the reintroduction of democracy in their country.

The United Kingdom is also helping to set up an independent media commission to support the development of a robust and professional independent media sector, and we welcome the United Nations willingness to consider where and how it can add value to building the institutions of a civil society in Iraq; electoral processes; constitutional, judicial and legal reform; and reform of the public administration and the security sector. Dismantling the previous regime's infrastructure of oppression was a necessary first step, but not a sufficient one.

As the interim administration gets to grips with these and other issues in the months ahead, it and the Iraqi people may look to the international community for support and practical assistance, the potential range of which has been well expressed by the Secretary-General and the Special Representative today.

The creation of the Governing Council marked a pivotal moment for Iraq. For the first time in decades, Iraq now has an administration — a powerful voice which we have heard today — broadly representative of its diversity and in a position to serve the interests of the Iraqi people as a whole. Iraqis can at last sense the prospect of realizing their full potential and creating a brighter future, but they need immediate international support for this. That is why the United Nations contribution at this time is so valuable and so welcome.

The fundamental criterion guiding our work in Iraq over the coming period — the cornerstone, as Sergio Vieira de Mello has said — is the need to bring Iraq back into the hands of Iraqis as soon as this can be done in a framework of stability and security through a constitutional reform process owned by the Iraqi people. I hope that the broad international community will continue to increase its involvement in helping to build a better Iraq. Resolution 1483 (2003) called for a genuine international partnership, asking Member States and other organizations to assist the people of Iraq to reform their institutions, rebuild their country and contribute to stability and security. Essential to that partnership is the role of the United Nations in the areas mapped out in resolution 1483 — a role which the Special Representative is judiciously constructing as the weeks go by.

As I come to terms with the inexplicable postponement of my retirement, I look forward to working with him and the whole United Nations team in the months ahead, conscious as I am from my experience on this Council that the regeneration of a free and stable Iraq is in all respects a collective enterprise of the international community.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his kind words addressed to me.

**Mr. Aguilar Zinser** (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): My delegation is especially pleased that you, Madam, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain, are presiding over the Security Council for this important meeting.

My delegation thanks the Secretary-General for his report to the Security Council and for his opening statement at this meeting. We wish in particular to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for the important briefing, information and views he has shared with us in order to enable the Security Council to appraise the role of the United Nations and the current situation in Iraq.

My delegation also welcomes Mr. Adnan Pachachi, Mr. Ahmad Chalabi and Ms. Aqeela al-Hashemi.

My Government has taken due note of the formation of the interim Governing Council of Iraq. We listened attentively to Mr. Pachachi's statement concerning the objectives and purposes of that Council in the immediate future. We sincerely wish them every success in their task of such far-reaching importance to the political reconstruction of Iraq.

The aim expressed by the Secretary-General concerning the Organization's presence in Iraq is fully shared by the Mexican Government. We agree that the immediate goal is to put an end to the military occupation as soon as possible, within the framework of the establishment of an Iraqi administration that is genuinely representative and capable of restoring and exercising Iraq's full sovereignty, in keeping with a constitutional order designed by Iraqis for Iraqis.

In this regard, my delegation fully endorses the principles outlined here by the Permanent Representative of Pakistan, which are principles that we have championed with respect to the situation in Iraq and which are undoubtedly those that inspire the activities of the United Nations. We hope that the timetable referred to in the Secretary-General's report will lead expeditiously and successfully to the full restoration of Iraq's sovereignty.

The raison d'être of the United Nations presence in Iraq and the mandate that this Council has given it is to assist and support the people of Iraq, strengthen its capacity to recover its sovereignty, address the humanitarian problems it faces, establish conditions for the full exercise of human rights and foster the creation of institutions that will lead to economic, political and social development for the Iraqi people. The people of Iraq is the focus of the United Nations and the only objective that the Organization is pursuing in Iraq. In keeping with this, we welcome the fact that, through dialogue and communication with all sectors of Iraqi society, the United Nations has been able to re-establish its presence in Iraq and to draw up a programme of work, set its priorities and define its positions.

The Security Council can also thereby gain a clearer idea of what Iraqis want. As Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello has said, regardless of the sector, faith or race of members of Iraqi society, there are very clear needs, demands, purposes and objectives being pursued by the Iraqi people as a whole. These have been described to us today by Mr. Vieira de Mello.

The first of these, of course, is the full restoration of peace, order and security. Here, we need to stress the fact that the primary responsibility lies, in accordance with international humanitarian law, with the Authority set up by the occupying forces. That responsibility cannot be replaced by anyone, but the international community can assist in carrying out the task of fully restoring security and order in Iraq.

In that regard, my delegation is grateful for the reports shared with the Security Council earlier by representatives of the coalition. We look forward to the report that Ambassador Jeremy Greenstock has said will be forthcoming in accordance with the provisions of resolution 1483 (2003) regarding the information that the coalition and the Authority must share with the Security Council, so that we may evaluate the action the Council can take to strengthen the role of the United Nations and more actively assist in fully restoring peace and security.

Peace and security, which we wish to see in Iraq, essentially depend not only on police and military arrangements; peace and security will ultimately hinge upon the political arrangement that Iraqis achieve — by addressing humanitarian needs, creating robust institutions upon which to base the rule of law and establishing adequate conditions for economic and social development — to provide the foundations for peace and security in the country, as well as by seeking agreement with regard to the establishment of new representative institutions that leave behind the past of brutal repression experienced by the Iraqi people. My Government therefore expresses the hope that the process of internal political consolidation will quickly lead to the onset of peace and security, which will have a positive effect upon the entire region.

What role should the United Nations therefore play? That has already been outlined clearly by Mr. Vieira de Mello and the Secretary-General. However, allow me to add a few points in this regard.

There is a need to accelerate and expand the deployment of humanitarian assistance to tackle the difficult conditions being suffered by various parts of Iraqi society. That must be done by converting the oil-for-food programme into domestic mechanisms and programmes that have the support of the international community. However, as the Secretary-General's report indicates, and as Mr. Vieira de Mello has underscored in his briefing, security conditions greatly impede the achievement of those tasks. We therefore make a very special appeal to the Coalition Provisional Authority to redouble its ongoing efforts to ensure that humanitarian agencies of the United Nations, those of the international community and of Iraq, as well as non-governmental organizations, may have the requisite security to carry out their work in support of the Iraqi civilian population.

In the current circumstances, the protection of humanitarian workers must be a priority. That is a collective responsibility of all States, and a particular responsibility of those currently wielding authority in Iraq. In that regard, we lament the tragic news we heard this morning from Mr. Vieira de Mello of the death of a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

We also believe that the United Nations can share its disarmament and demobilization experience. In that connection, we believe that certain skills should not, and must not, be wasted in providing assistance in the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process, which is a fundamental component of creating a new order in Iraq.

We concur with the Secretary-General and his Special Representative that one of the most immediate and important tasks in rebuilding Iraq is to protect human rights. First and foremost, we must ensure that basic respect for human rights and freedoms is re-established, not only in the current circumstances but also with regard to the very important and key task of requiring that responsibility be accepted by the perpetrators of the unspeakable violations we increasingly hear about as new evidence is uncovered. That is essential to re-establishing peace and the rule of law, as well as in assigning responsibility. But so too must human rights and the existence of a just legal order be re-established.

In that regard, there will be a need to support the efforts to be made by the Iraqi people and their representatives to identify ways and means of carrying out trials and meting out punishment to those guilty of atrocities.

It will also be a fundamental task of the United Nations to promote the active participation of women in the process of change. In that connection, we align ourselves with the statements we heard this morning from various representatives. It is necessary that we support the Iraqi people's economic recovery and development.

The Iraqi people's oil patrimony will be an essential tool in the country's economic recovery and development. In the current exceptional circumstances, it is necessary to ensure that oil is used solely to benefit the people of Iraq. To that end, we must make an effort to clarify the role and task entrusted to the International Advisory and Monitoring Board by Security Council resolution. The Board must have specific monitoring and advisory functions that make the use of oil resources transparent. Like other delegations, we express the hope that an agreement will be reached to give the Board the scope and nature specifically spelled out in resolution 1483 (2003).

In that regard, we believe that no commitments should be made vis-à-vis Iraqi oil that do not stem from the specific will of the Iraqi people. For the time being, therefore, the management of the oil industry should be merely provisional. Once established, it should be up to Iraq's constitutional order to define the terms under which the Iraqi people will exercise sovereignty over their oil, as well as the structure of the industry and the way in which resources derived from oil are to be used to benefit the people.

All the efforts made by the international community through the United Nations should go hand in hand with the very active participation of States in the provision of humanitarian assistance and support for reconstruction activities in Iraq. It should be the United Nations that serves as the fundamental channel through which the international community can make its support felt in the reconstruction process.

In conclusion, allow me to say that my delegation has every confidence in the work being done by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, as well as in the programme of work and the structure for the Office that has been established. We hope that the work to be done by Mr. Vieira de Mello and the Secretariat will lead to the restoration of Iraq's sovereignty as soon as possible.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the representative of Mexico for his kind words addressed to me.

**Mr. Tafrov** (Bulgaria) (*spoke in Spanish*): It is an honour and privilege, Madam President, for my delegation to participate in this meeting of the Security Council under Spain's very effective and dynamic presidency during the month of July.

(*spoke in French*)

First, I would like to thank the Secretary-General for his participation in our debate today and for his report (S/2003/715) on the implementation of resolution 1483 (2003). I thank him also for his introductory statement, in which he set forth the principles and objectives of United Nations action in Iraq. Bulgaria fully shares his views. I also thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for his briefing and, above all, for his activities in Iraq. He has listened to the active members of Iraqi society and faithfully interpret their views. He has forged extremely useful contacts with other countries in the region. He has created good synergy in working with the Coalition

Provisional Authority, which I believe redounds to his credit. We thank him and extend our full support to him.

It is a pleasure to welcome to the Council representatives of the interim Governing Council of Iraq: Mr. Pachachi, Mr. Chalabi and Ms. al-Hashemi. The establishment of the Governing Council was an important step for the Iraqis as they seek to regain control of their future. Bulgaria welcomes that very positive development. We assure the Governing Council members present here of Bulgaria's full support for the Iraqis as they seek to establish a free and independent Iraq and to resume the warm and friendly relations that had always existed between our two countries.

The United Nations must play a central role in Iraq. That role should become ever greater and stronger. That is Bulgaria's profound belief. We are pleased that the first steps taken by the United Nations in Iraq have been successful ones despite the extremely difficult conditions in which Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello's team is working there. The results are very encouraging. In our opinion, the approach adopted by Mr. Vieira de Mello will yield increasingly tangible results.

Bulgaria considers the work of the United Nations in the area of human rights to be of particular importance. Human rights are especially important for a country that is seeking to emerge from decades of murderous dictatorship and to establish the rule of law.

As the representative of a country that in the recent past had to face a similar, though not identical, situation, I am particularly sensitive to the aspiration just voiced by Mr. Pachachi: to move towards national reconciliation by shedding light on the recent past. Unfortunately, as Mr. Vieira de Mello said, that past was of the darkest and most brutal. We believe that the United Nations has a role to play in helping the Iraqis shed light on their recent past. In that context, the United Nations is the principal means by which the international community can, as it must, help the Iraqi people face the great challenges before them.

Security is still extremely fragile, and major problems remain. The responsibility of the Coalition Provisional Authority is clearly fundamental in that area. We think that the international community must find the way to help the Iraqis retake control of the management of the situation as quickly as possible. We fully agree with the Secretary-General's approach on the structure and objectives of a United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq. We believe that the future role of the United Nations should be defined in accordance with how the situation on the ground develops. Things are changing fairly quickly. It was very encouraging to hear that Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello shares that approach.

Before concluding, on a more personal note, I was very moved to hear Mr. Pachachi, at the beginning of his statement, stress the word "freedom". Clearly, freedom is essential for all development and independence. I express my heartfelt wish for a free and independent Iraq in the near future.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the representative of Bulgaria for the kind words he addressed to the Spanish delegation, which I am honoured to lead.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Spain.

It is — and believe me, this is no mere rhetoric — an honour for me to preside over this meeting of the Security Council, because today is an important day for Iraq, for the international community and for the United Nations system.

We are committed to a future Iraq — to use the Secretary-General's words — that is stable, united, prosperous and democratic, in peace both internally and with its neighbours: an Iraq able to leave behind 35 years of bloodthirsty dictatorship and 35 years of bad administration. The magnitude of the situation that Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello indicated — hundreds of thousands of dead and hundreds of thousands of victims of repression — and the moving statement by Mr. Adnan Pachachi on the deprivation of freedom and the degradation of the dignity of the Iraqi people spoke revealingly of the recent past.

It is a true that there are difficulties. The Secretary-General's report (S/2003/715) and the statements of the Special Representative and of the spokesman of the Governing Council of Iraq have described them to us; I myself witnessed them during my recent trip to Baghdad. However, today we are beginning to glimpse clearly this new democratic Iraq, fully integrated into the international community, respectful of rights and freedoms, and which makes efficient use of its immense natural resources for the

benefit of all Iraqis and provides a conducive framework for the enhanced development for that great people, whose potential has been demonstrated throughout one of the richest histories in human culture and civilization, as Sergio Vieira de Mello has recalled.

Yes, the assessment that emerges from the statements we have heard today, and particularly from those of the Secretary-General, Mr. Vieira de Mello and Mr. Pachachi, is hopeful, despite the complex situation still prevailing in Iraq. Indeed, the fall of the Saddam Hussain regime awakened great expectations marked by the natural impatience of those who had lived under submission and deprivation. After decades of bad administration, Iraqis expect an improvement in their living conditions, and they expect it now. After decades of repression and a dictatorial regime, the Iraqi people yearn to take the reins of their own destiny without delay.

The fact is that, on a daily basis, life is not easy in Iraq. Each loss of human life, of civilians or coalition military personnel, can only be described as a tragedy, because, although they are not strategic in nature, there are risks and threats arising in particular out of the combination of resistance and criminality. As Mr. Vieira de Mello noted in connection with the latter component, at the end of 2002 Saddam Hussain freed most of the criminals who had been sentenced for common crimes.

Given that perspective, it should be recalled, as many speakers have, that until the new Iraqi police force is effectively deployed and the new Iraqi army is formed, the task of maintaining the security of individuals and property falls to the forces of the Coalition Provisional Authority. Also, resolution 1483 (2003) appeals to the members of the international community to contribute to carrying out that task.

At the same time, there is a shortfall in basic services such as electricity, running water and fuel; those shortages are attributable in large part to the cited security problems. But we had expected a food crisis and, fortunately, it has not occurred. The food distribution system is working reasonably well in most parts of the country. Hospital services are improving and students have been able to finish the school year. Banks in Baghdad are beginning to provide services — and I have see that for myself.

However, above all, it is hard to exaggerate the significance of the formation of the Governing Council of Iraq, whose spokesman we were honoured to hear today. That institution embodies the core of the interim Iraqi administration, for whose formation the Security Council unanimously called in paragraph 9 of resolution 1483 (2003). The Governing Council incorporates Iraqi men and women of renown and great courage. It includes in a balanced way representatives of the various political, ethnic and religious components that make up the Iraqi mosaic. Thus, it symbolizes Iraq's unity, which we wish to preserve. Its establishment is a decisive step towards the objectives of self-government and of normalizing the political life of the Iraqi people. To echo what Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello has said, the Governing Council of Iraq has credible executive power and is broadly representative. For that reason, it deserves the full support of the international community.

Yes, the international community, represented by the Security Council, through the participation of the Governing Council's spokesman, is today giving recognition to that Council. The Governing Council, which possesses authority under resolution 1483 (2003), will gain legitimacy before the Iraqi people by effectively contributing to improving the basic living conditions of Iraqis, thus paving the way towards free elections and towards the drafting of a constitution.

Mr. Pachachi has vividly described the tremendous task facing the Governing Council. The urgent priorities that it faces cover all areas of government functions, from the appointment of ministers to the running of embassies and the building of schools — 1,500 schools, we were told — and hospitals. With realism, he has recognized the tremendous responsibility that his institution bears. It is an honourable mission that should receive the unreserved support of the international community represented by the Security Council.

The Governing Council of Iraq can, of course, rely on the firm commitment of Spain in that endeavour. The fact is that the Governing Council has an historic mission, including in particular the drafting of the constitution and the creation of conditions that will make it possible to hold free elections. Those tasks will lay the foundation for a political edifice of peace, prosperity and coexistence in democracy, which the Iraqi people must build with the guidance of the Governing Council and to which we must all be committed.

Allow me to recall what a number of speakers have said about the characteristics of that constitutional process. The process of drafting the constitution must be, more than anything else, inclusive of the country's democratic, political, ethnic and religious groups and also of the varied social groups, particularly women. No significant sector should feel marginalized. A timetable needs to be set that is specific and, at the same time, is sufficiently flexible to adapt to a task that will be complex — as are all constituent processes. Iraqis must perceive clearly that this is the beginning of a process with a specific final destination, and with real political prospects for understanding among all and respect by all. As the report of the Secretary-General notes, and as indeed most statements today have underscored — and with these I agree — there needs to be an ambitious and realistic programme that is adaptable in terms of time, in which consensus is the genuine basic rule for action, guiding the decision-making process, allowing all opinions to be expressed freely and without hindrance, including also the life-giving wisdom of the thinking of civil society.

Finally, this process of drafting a constitution for Iraq needs to be led by a distinguished individual of prestige and experience, of recognized moral authority and with a sense of statesmanship. Members may feel that some of these features are familiar to some of us who are members of the European Union, because, as some members have undoubtedly noted, these points faithfully describe the method whereby we Europeans came together to endow ourselves with a constitution. These are the distinctive features of the recently concluded Convention for the Future of Europe, which just presented the preliminary draft of a European constitution.

But plainly it is not sufficient to draft a constitution. As I said earlier, the holding of free elections is vital. Of course, the draft constitution will be subject to ratification by the Iraqi people through a popular consultation.

The United Nations plays an irreplaceable role in all these tasks because of its lengthy experience in democratization and institution-building processes, and because of its unparalleled capacity to undertake, with guaranteed impartiality, key tasks such as, for example, advising in the preparation of an electoral register; in the convening, holding and monitoring of elections; and in the identification and fostering of the necessary conditions to enable pluralism to flourish — from the communications media to programmes promoting the involvement of women.

I wish here to take up several points made by Mr. Vieira de Mello and stressed by Ambassador Greenstock. The political transition to democracy and economic reconstruction is not enough in and of itself if it does not take place in a legal framework that enshrines respect for human rights.

I therefore associate myself with those who have expressed appreciation for the report submitted pursuant to paragraph 24 of resolution 1483 (2003), as well as for the commendable work being done by Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello and his team and the dedication with which they are undertaking their work in very difficult circumstances.

In particular I would highlight our great confidence in the work of the Special Representative, who is also the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

Lastly, I wish to join with others in supporting the proposals made in the report of the Secretary-General.

Allow me to conclude by reaffirming, on behalf of the Government of Spain, our commitment to Iraq as a participant in the coalition; our humanitarian commitment to the Iraqi people; our commitment to rebuilding Iraq and to its stability and security; and our commitment to the United Nations and to its agencies, and especially to the Special Representative — ultimately, a commitment of support and of fullest cooperation with the Iraqi Governing Council.

Spain commits itself fully to the efforts of the Iraqi people to achieve democracy, which is also an undertaking for the whole of the international community.

Having concluded my statement on behalf of the Spanish delegation, I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

The Security Council has thus concluded this stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

*The meeting rose at 2.05 p.m.*